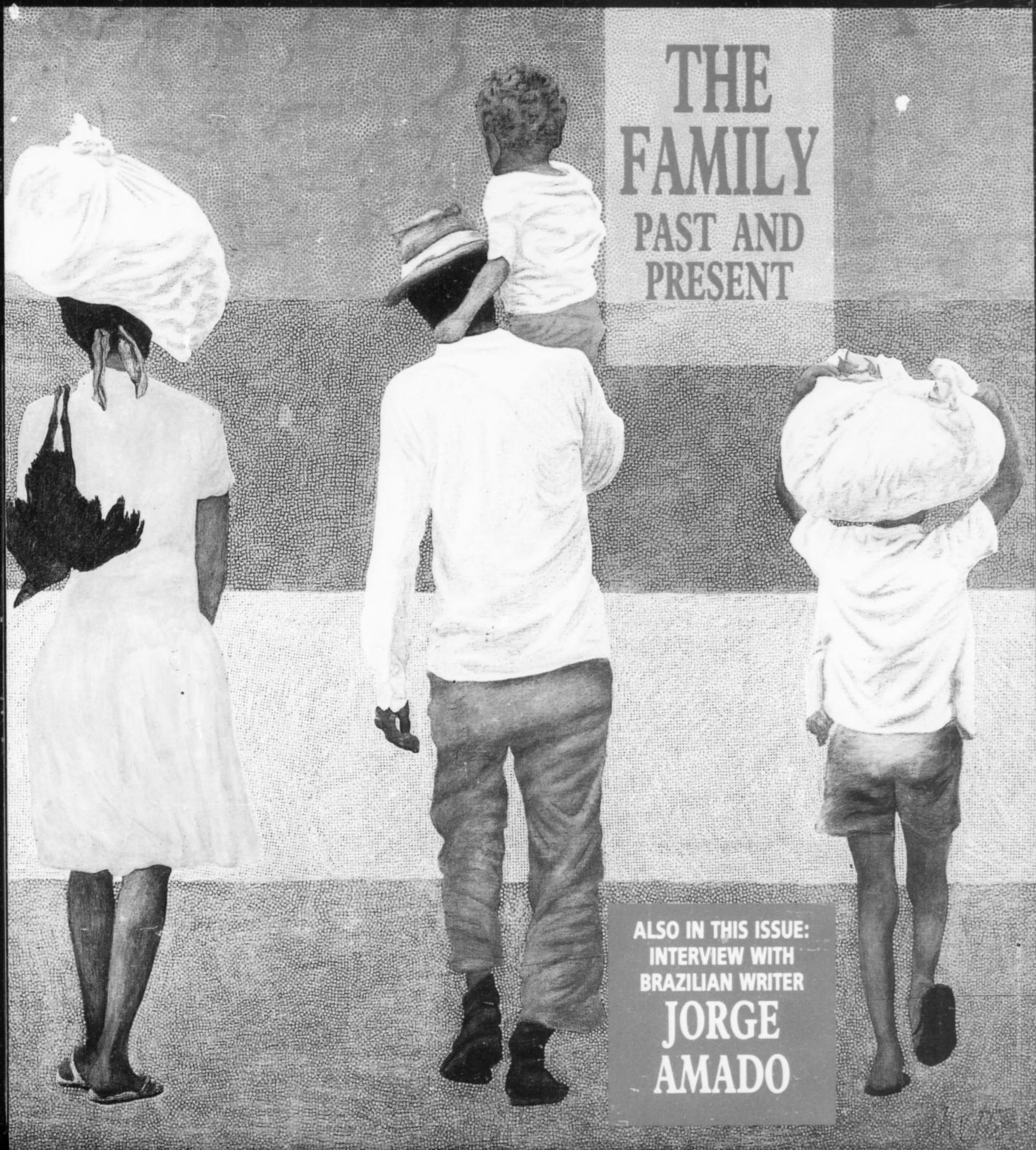
JULY 1989 - 15 French francs

The UNESCO COURIER



THE FAMILY
PAST AND PRESENT

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:
INTERVIEW WITH
BRAZILIAN WRITER
JORGE AMADO

encounters

With our photo of this work by Herman Braun-Vega we launch a new regular feature, "Encounters", which seeks to highlight the process of cultural cross-fertilization. We invite readers to send us photographs to be considered for publication in this feature. Your photo should show a painting, a sculpture, piece of architecture or any other subject which seems to be an example of cross-fertilization between cultures. Alternatively, you could send us pictures of two works from different cultural backgrounds in which you see some striking connection or resemblance. Please add a short caption to all photographs.

La Realidad...ni pintada (Vermeer et Mondrian) *"Reality...not even painted (Vermeer and Mondrian)"*, 1985, acrylic on canvas (1.16 x 0.89 m) by Herman Braun-Vega, a Peruvian painter who has lived in Paris since 1968. The Peruvian writer Julio Ramón Ribeyro has written that Braun-Vega's work, which telescopes images from different cultural landscapes, is an example of "the increasingly visible advance of the Third World into the West's exclusive territory, and the first signs of a new civilization based on contact, cross-fertilization, ethnic intermingling and cultural syncretism".

CONTENTS

4

Interview with Jorge Amado
WHERE PEOPLES AND CULTURES HAVE MINGLED

9

THE FAMILY
PAST AND PRESENT

NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA
HEARTH, HOME AND RURAL COMMUNITY
by Hélène Yvert-Jalu 10

ANCIENT CHINA
THE EMPIRE OF THE ANCESTORS
by Qi Yanfen 16

AFRICA
LINES OF DESCENT
by Manga Bekombo Priso 22

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA
THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY 25

THE CHANGING JAPANESE FAMILY
UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT
by Kurimoto Kazuo 28

EUROPE
MARINA, SARAH, MICHEL AND JEAN
by Andrée Michel 34

LATIN AMERICA
THE WOMEN OF AREMBEPE
by Mariza de Athayde Figueiredo and Danda Prado 38

QUEBEC
NEW FAMILY STRUCTURES
by Francine Descarries and Christine Corbeil 42

'OUR HOME IS YOUR HOME'
A VISIT TO AN UZBEK FAMILY
by Claire Fournier 46

48

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY
AFRICA'S 'WONDER WEED'

Cover: *Retirantes, Peasant Exodus (1982), acrylic on canvas (200 x 200 cm) by the Brazilian-born painter Gontran Netto, who has lived in France since 1969.*

Back cover: ***Family Reunion*** *(1987) by Zhihui Liao. This Chinese sculptor often works with household objects—here wooden spoons—used by the Miao, a Chinese mountain people with whom he has lived since childhood.*

A noted Brazilian writer talks to the **Unesco Courier** *about the originality of his country's culture*

Jorge Amado

Where peoples and cultures have mingled

In many respects Brazil is a microcosm, a mixture of peoples and sensibilities drawn from all over the world—all humanity in a nutshell. It is also one country, with one government and a set of national institutions. Which of these two aspects do you consider the most important in your country—diversity or unity? Is it possible to speak of a Brazilian people and a Brazilian culture?

— In my opinion, one can speak of a single people, with its own culture, born of the intermingling of all the races who have passed that way.

Which are these races?

— First of all, of course, there were the Indians. Then came the Europeans, mostly the Portuguese. But gradually the groups from Europe became more diversified. By the fifteenth century Portugal itself already had a very mixed population. Among the people were those who were known as the Moors. There were also the "new Christians" as they were called, Jews fleeing from the Inquisition who, although they had been converted, were still being persecuted. In addition, there was a large Dutch colony.

Then there were the Africans, brought in as slaves. With them, racial intermixture began to accelerate. Anxious to split up the original tribes, the slave-owners would buy groups of slaves of different tribal origins—a Yoruba, a Bantu, a Congolese.

So the slaves interbred among themselves; but did they also interbreed with their white masters?

— Yes. The Portuguese interbred very readily and this mixing was so widespread that today there are no pure blacks. If you look into the ancestry of any black-skinned Brazilian, his or her mother or father, grandparents or great-grandparents, you will always end up by finding a white ancestor somewhere.

Are there any pure whites?

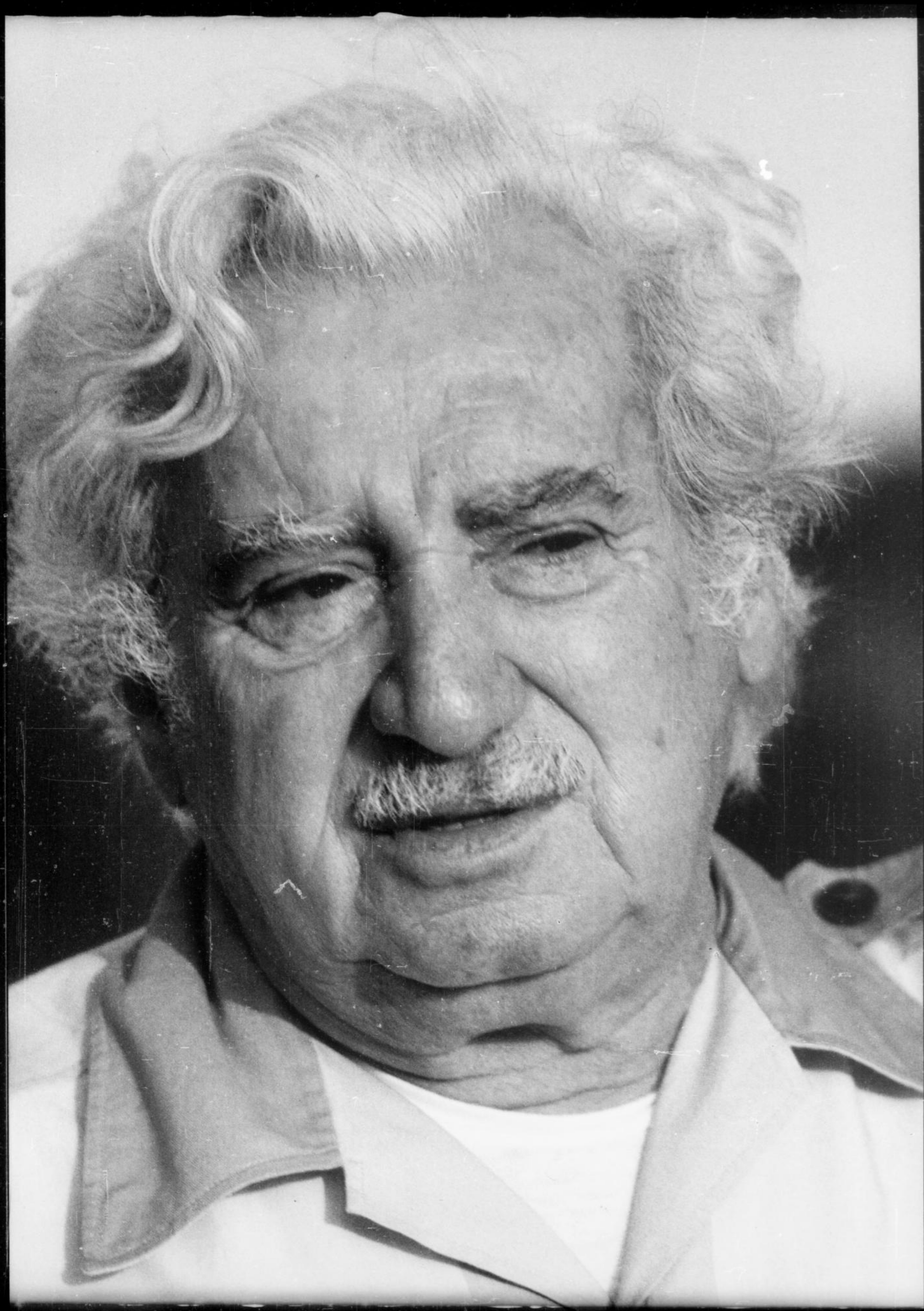
— Among the immigrants of long standing, there are perhaps some in the south, but they are very few and far between and difficult to find. There are some pure whites among the recent arrivals, first-generation immigrants and their children. But the next generation begins to mix with the others, to become integrated.

Finally, we should not forget the Arabs, above all the Christian Arabs who came from Lebanon and Syria. They were often referred to as Turks, because their countries were then provinces of the Ottoman empire.

Surely all these different peoples cannot just have fused peaceably into one? There must have been inequalities, power struggles...

— Of course. There were political, economic and social struggles which were aggravated by ethnic and cultural differences. The black peoples, for example, soon revolted against their conditions and there were large-scale conflicts. Several black republics, settlements known as *quilombos*, were even set up in the mountains by rebellious slaves. One of them lasted nearly forty years and repulsed the attacks of four successive government armies.

After the abolition of slavery, successive new waves of immigrants—Italians, Germans—arrived to work in the coffee plantations. Finally on this point I would like to say that,



absorb racism in the mixture of races

although the history of Brazil has included its share of inequalities and conflicts, there has never been a break in the process of ethnic and cultural intermingling. That is what is typical of Brazil. And from it all a Brazilian culture was born, based on the Portuguese language which was spoken by all.

What are the main components of this new culture?
— The European, African and Indian elements all play an irreplaceable part, but I am inclined to feel that the source of its vitality is Africa. The Brazilian soul emerged from the confrontation between Portuguese melancholy and African joie de vivre. The Portuguese are pessimists, full of doubts and preoccupied with death. Africans exude life, are at ease with themselves physically and with nature and know how to laugh, celebrate and enjoy themselves. They brought a rhythm and a vital energy to the new culture which are immediately recognizable. If you hear Brazilian music or watch a Brazilian dance, you will see it straight away.

Is this African contribution evident in all forms of expression of Brazilian culture?
— At first, the European contribution was predominant in written forms of expression, but the African influence gradually came to permeate them. The first great Brazilian poet, Gregório de Matos, was a mulatto. In the eighteenth century, most writers were mainly of white origin, but there were also some of black origin. It was, however, already becoming difficult to differentiate between those of black or white origin. The greatest Brazilian novelist of the nineteenth century, Machado de Assís, was also a mulatto, a fact which sums up nicely what I am trying to say.

Of course, the dominant cultural influence varies from region to region. In the Amazon, the mixture is predominantly Indian, to the north-east black, in the south white. Nevertheless, it is everywhere a mixture and everywhere there are truly Brazilian components.

One has only to look at the nine countries which surround us—Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela—to understand the importance of this typically Brazilian cultural adaptability. Despite their common language and the desire for unity they all feel, they remain nine distinct countries, whereas Brazil, which is of continental size, has maintained its unity. Of course, there are many reasons for this, but, to my mind, the determining factor has been this ability to intermix, this desire to intermingle. It is a way of looking at life that is to be found at the heart of all the various forms of expression, but nowhere in such striking fashion as in Carnival, when everything blends together, within each one of us and between us all. For a Brazilian, Carnival is the greatest festival in the world.

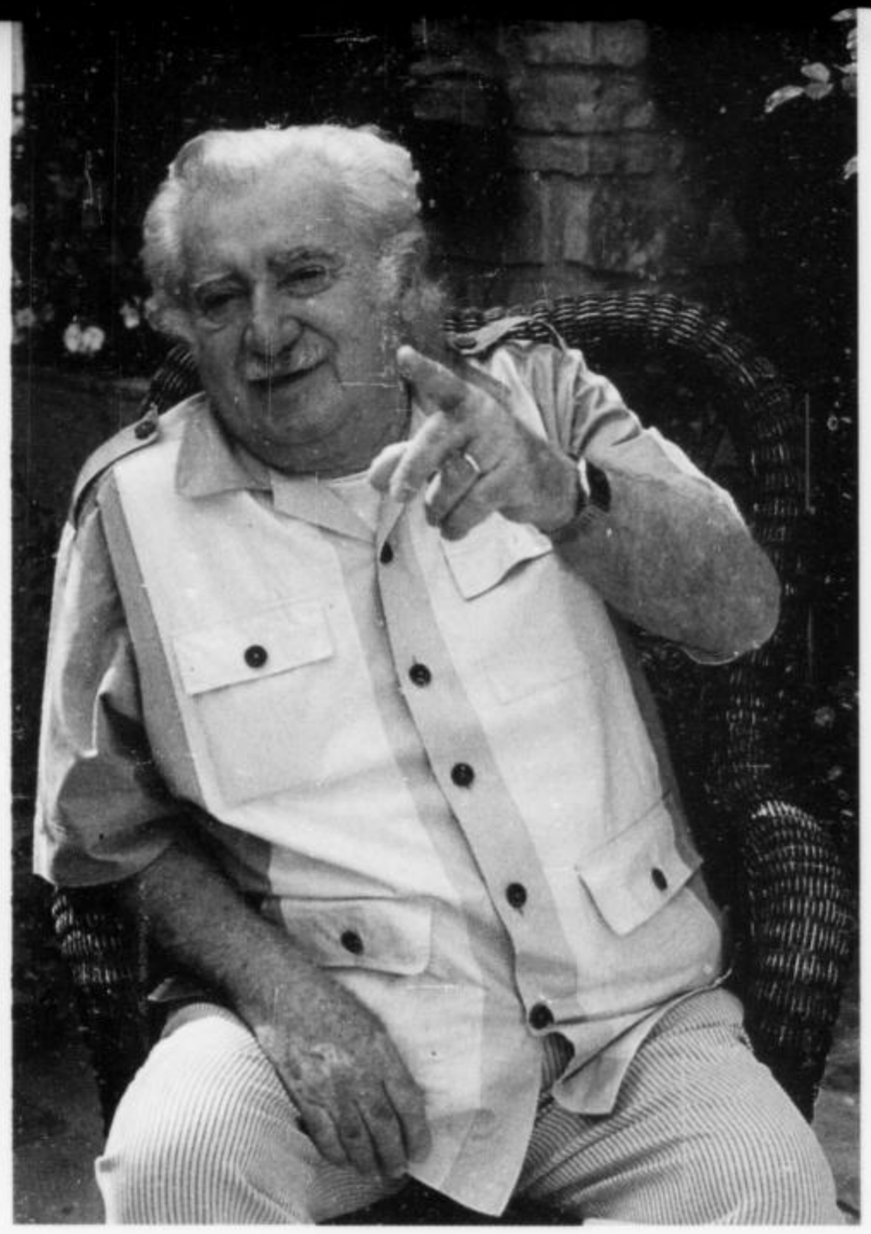
Is this attitude reflected in the field of religion?
— Absolutely. There is syncretism in religion just as there is syncretism in art. And once again the African influence has been the determining factor. The Africans brought with them their vision of cosmogony, their gods and their cults, which came up against and combined with each other, since members of different tribes lived together. In turn, these various contributions mixed with Catholicism, because, on their arrival, the Africans were immediately baptized.

Thus, in Brazil, we are all Catholics, even if at heart we are fetishists, animists or Protestants. Even the gods have intermingled and Carnival is also the carnival of the gods. African gods have shown amazing powers of survival, even during the dark night of slavery, when the slaves, forcibly converted to Catholicism, obviously could not honour their gods as such. So they identified them with Christian saints.

Take, for example, the Catholic feast of Saint Anthony. Just like the whites, the blacks used to say "we are going to celebrate the feast of Saint Anthony", but, in fact, they were celebrating the feast of Ogun, a popular black god of metal and of war. Gradually, the saint and the god fused together.

So there is no racism in Brazil?
— There was, and still is, some racism. In Brazil, as in other parts of the world, racism rises to the surface or erupts whenever different ethnic groups find themselves in a situation of conflict. Nevertheless, Brazil is not a racist society, because any tendency towards racism is countered by a general tendency towards intermingling and syncretism. Instead of being deep-rooted, institutionalized and encouraged, racism tends rather to be defused by the movement towards mixing, by this drive which accommodates differences and weds opposites. Mixture is the key word of Brazilian culture.

My sons are of Italian blood through their mother. My grandmother was Indian, my great-grandfather was black, and my name has definite Arab connections. And I am completely at ease as a Brazilian, with a feeling that I come from all over the world and am so much at home in Brazil. Let



I have fought all my life with this hope in mind

me tell you an amusing anecdote about my name. One day I received a letter from the embassy of an Arab country. My secretary telephoned and found herself talking to the cultural attaché at the embassy, who insisted that I should "correct" my name. It should not be written "Amado", but "Hamadou", since, according to him, it is a name of Arab origin. From the beginning of the period of colonization, many Portuguese families with the name of Amado came to Brazil. How far back do they go? Probably to the Arab conquest of the Iberian peninsula. They may also, perhaps, have been of Jewish origin. A résumé of humanity, you might say.

So, for you, intermingling is the sole antidote to racism?
— Absolutely. From a very early age I have had to fight against a variety of injustices and prejudices and, in particular, against racism, which is without doubt the most contemptible of all prejudices. I am convinced that, in the long run, there is only one real solution—to absorb racism in the mixture of races.

In situations where the political or economic climate is unfavourable to certain peoples or to certain social classes, can this intermingling be any more than the cultural crushing of the weakest by the strongest?
— Economic and political weakness must not be confused with cultural weakness. Even when it is in the keeping of an oppressed community or class, a culture can preserve its values and even impose some of them on its oppressors. This, as I have pointed out, is what happened with the black peoples of Brazil, even though they were reduced to slavery. The same is true of the black peoples of the United States. From Antiquity, we have the example of Greece hellenizing the culture of her Roman conquerors and occupiers. And in more recent times, have not India, Pakistan and Egypt succeeded in preserving, and, indeed, reviving and revitalizing their cultures in face of their contact with Western colonial culture?

What is the situation in Brazil today? Has this interesting process of interbreeding finally abolished racism?
— We have just celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the abolition of slavery. That is to say that only a hundred years ago black or mainly black people were still slaves. Things have progressed enormously, but a lot remains to be done. The white/black divide still coincides to some extent with the division between the very rich and the very poor, and this does not exactly favour the growth of fraternal feelings.

This means that we must do all we can—through democratic political struggle, social reform and cultural action—to resolve these problems and bring people closer together. In the cultural field, in particular, we must fight the cult of violence in television and the cinema. It is not a matter of prohibiting films that glorify violence but of creating new works that glorify its opposite—love, friendship and solidarity. It is a difficult path to follow, but, in the long term, I believe it to be the right one.

After all, in spite of everything things have improved, have they not, since the world began? I do not know whether one day a world will exist in which man will no longer be the enemy of man, and in which difference in skin colour will count for no more than difference in age—a world in which all men are brothers. But we have to fight on in the hope that this will come about. Otherwise we are left with nothing but anguish and wretchedness. I have fought all my life with this hope in mind. Of course, I have had some disappointments and some painful moments, under the dictatorship and when I had to change my mind about certain ideas that I had long held sacrosanct. But I have never given up that hope. Had I lost it, I would not have been able to continue the struggle, to write. It would have been the end of everything for me.

Can you give us an image of hope?
— Yes. The image of Carnival. All those fair-skinned, brown-skinned, black-skinned people, who sometimes talk of the segregation of the races but who come together, dance together and finally marry each other! ■

EDITORIAL

In many myths, cosmogonies and religions the human age begins with the creation of a couple—Apsu and Tiamat, Yama and Yami, Adam and Eve. Is this image of the primordial family unit comprising a man, a woman and their offspring on the way to becoming a universal model today?

When we look back into history, however, we find larger and more complex family structures: hordes, clans, tribes, lineages, urban and village communities where several generations lived and worked together, where the example set by the ancestors continued to inspire their distant descendants, where the same customs were perpetuated down the centuries, and where religious cults were deeply rooted.

The family, in the widest sense of the term, is the source and the refuge of its members, an institution with codes and hierarchies which may be oppressive to some but which provide a sense of security for all. For thousands of years it has been society's most durable link and the most effective means whereby the distinctive characteristics of a people's culture have been maintained and transmitted.

But today this link is tending to slacken as the family is increasingly confronted with the disintegrating forces of modern life. The existence of the small nuclear family and the single-parent family raises the questions of whether the basic units of society are everywhere being stripped down to their simplest form of expression and whether the cultural diversity which they have hitherto vehicled is inexorably yielding ground to uniformity and monotony.

A certain tendency for the family to contract is apparent, but the need for community persists. Perhaps humanity, eternally creative and unpredictable, is engaged in the painful process of exploring new ways of living in society which will at last reconcile family solidarity with individual liberty.

My Family, oil on plywood (1.22 x 1.22 m) by the Soviet painter Aleksandr Grigorievich Sitnikov.

Hearth, home and rural

THE
FAMILY
PAST
AND PRESENT

NINETEENTH-CENTURY
RUSSIA

community

BY HÉLÈNE YVERT-JALU

The basis of peasant society in rural Russia, the family long defended the identity of an oppressed social group.

Asking her Hand in Marriage, by the 18th-century Russian painter Mikhail Shibanov.

The Couple (1931), by the Russian-born French sculptor Osip Zadkine (1890-1967).

THE population of the Russian empire at the end of the nineteenth century was overwhelmingly rural. The 1897 census shows that, of a total of 124.6 million people, 106.2 million (85 per cent) lived in the countryside.

In 1913, on the eve of the First World War, only 18 per cent of the population lived in the towns and cities. It was sometimes difficult to draw the line between town and village, as three-quarters of the people were employed in agriculture and there was a strong link between the urban and the rural environment, largely because of seasonal workers *(otkhodniki)* who divided their time between the fields and the factories.

It was not until 1962 that the urban population exceeded the rural population. This indicates the importance of peasant society, which was based on the family. "All the institutions, all the distinctive characteristics of Russia, everything which makes her different from the West, have deep roots which must be disinterred in order to understand the country's problems", wrote the French historian Henri Jean-Baptise Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu in 1881. These roots are to be found primarily in the organization of the traditional Russian family in the rural environment.

The mir, *a village commune*

Traditional Russian peasant society was founded on a unique institution, the agrarian community known as the *obshchina* or *mir*. This was a form of local government based on regular meetings of the heads of peasant families *(domokhoziane,* literally, "masters of the house"). These men shared the responsibility for village affairs, under the direction of an elder, the *staroste,* whom they elected. The peasants did not own their land. Fields and meadows belonged to the community, which periodically redistributed them among the families on the basis of the number of "souls" or married men in each family. Neither women nor single men were taken into account.

According to some historians, the *mir* form of organization has ancient roots going back to the time when the Slavs farmed collectively, in large kinship groups, land held in common by

the group. This arrangement may have reflected a specific mentality that was far removed from the individualistic tendencies of the West. Other historians believe that this institution may have been a form of organization imposed on peasants by the authorities for administrative or fiscal reasons. Whatever its origins, among the Russian peasantry the *mir* developed a community spirit, the individual's attachment to the social group, in particular the immediate family, and solidarity between different members of the community.

The head of the family was designated in accordance with the male line of succession. The responsibility passed from a father to his son or to the eldest brother, and usually fell to the oldest man in the household. A matriarchal system might exist on a provisional basis in the case of a widow with no adult men in the house.

As his family's representative at the village assembly, the *domokhoziane* was responsible for paying taxes and providing recruits for military service. His domestic role was to manage common property and to use the household's manpower to work the land, keep the stove supplied with firewood, repair old buildings and construct new ones, and maintain tools and equipment. He was also the arbitrator in family quarrels.

In the early nineteenth century the "big family" commonly comprised between twenty-five and thirty people. The dwelling, which together with the outbuildings was known as the *dvor* (literally, the "yard"), was also home to sons and their families, unmarried daughters, and various relatives and friends of the family.

By the end of the century, however, this kind of arrangement was much less common. Married sons, after living with their parents for a few years, would leave the family home and set up their own "hearth". Between 1880 and 1890, the typical village had only seven or eight people in each *dvor*. The 1897 census for European Russia gave an even lower average of 5.9 persons per household in the countryside.

Marriage as a means of access to common lands

The authority of the head of the household over his family was similar to that of the emperor over his subjects, a relationship cast in the image of divine power. The autocratic power of the head of the family is evoked by an ancient proverb which says, "The master in his house is like the Khan in the Crimea". The obedience due to the head of the family was an extension of the respect shown to old people. "Where there's white hair, there's reason", says another proverb.

The power of the *domokhoziane* was not, however, absolute, for it was customary for him to consult the "family council" before taking particularly important decisions. This council, consisting of the married men of the household, could in certain exceptional circumstances have him deposed for incompetence or unworthiness.

As in all hierarchical societies based on patriarchy, it was the norm for men to dominate women, older members to dominate younger, and married people to dominate the unmarried.

The unmarried were not considered to be people in the fullest sense, as indicated by some of the words used to describe them: a single man of whatever age was called *malyi* (a lad), an unmarried woman was known as *deyka* (a girl). On marriage they formed part of the adult domestic community.

Marriage itself was a prerequisite to the use of communal land. It could be said to replace a coming of age ceremony, as indicated by the term *muzh*, which was formerly used to refer to both "man" and "husband". A *bobyl*, that is a peasant with neither land nor family, was seen as an unfortunate being overwhelmed by fate.

It is not surprising under these circumstances that Russia had the highest proportion of married people in Europe. The 1897 census shows that in the countryside, only 4 per cent of women and 3 per cent of men aged between 40 and 50 years remained single. And people married young. For a first marriage, the average age was 21.2 years for women, and 23.5 years for men, at least two years younger than in France at the time. Only those who entered monastic orders, or the physically or mentally disabled, did not marry.

The high mortality rate meant that widows and widowers were common, but most men remarried. A widower needed another wife to take care of his motherless children and to help out with the farming. A widow was unable to benefit from her deceased husband's land and became a heavy responsibility for the family. Left alone, she was condemned to a life of poverty.

The rituals surrounding a proposal of marriage show that matchmaking was a collective rather than a private affair, masterminded by the head of the family and supervised by the village community. In taking a wife, a man furnished the community with an extra pair of hands. The young bride would leave her father's house and move in with her in-laws. The ideal woman was first and foremost a good worker.

Custom dictated that the suitor's parents send *svaty* (matchmakers), relatives or friends of the young man, to his proposed fiancée's mother and

The wall where icons were hung in an isba, the traditional wooden dwelling of the Russian peasant.

A Russian family photographed at the beginning of the century.

father in order to make inquiries and negotiate the terms of the marriage. In practice it was not unusual for parents to ask children for their opinion. Self-interest and sentiment were not automatically at odds. But, even then, tradition demanded that the fiancée should weep for her single days and that she should voice the fears inspired in her by a new life in the house of "strangers".

Where several generations lived together, the oldest woman carried out the duties of the mistress of the house. In general she would be the wife of the *domokhoziane*, who was responsible for organizing and sharing out the housework between the various women of the family.

These women lit and maintained the great stove which took up almost a quarter of the *isba*, or wooden dwelling, fetched water from the village well, prepared meals for the family and the animals, cultivated the vegetable plot behind the house, looked after the farmyard, milked the cows and made dairy produce, and collected berries and mushrooms in the forest. In summer, they helped out on a more or less regular basis with work in the fields, which was the men's main responsibility. The women passed the time in the long autumn and winter evenings by spinning or weaving flax, hemp or wool.

They were allowed to build up their own little nest egg through the sale of surplus wool, cloth or dairy produce. In certain regions this was

known as their "casket" or "basket" *(korobka)*. Girls would take this money with them on their marriage. When a woman died, her "casket" would usually go to her daughters or her unmarried sisters, and in this way a system of inheritance between women was established. On the other hand, a woman had no claim on the property of her father's family, nor on that of her husband. Only sons had the right to inherit from their father, and in return they had to look after the needs of their aged parents.

The overall birth rate in European Russia (49.5 per cent in the period 1869-1900) bears witness to the lack of any birth control. Taking account of factors which curbed people's natural fertility, such as breast-feeding infants up to the age of one or two years, or sexual abstinence during religious fasts and when the husband was working away from home, it has been calculated that a peasant couple would bring between eight and ten children into the world, of whom almost a third would die before their first birthday.

The country wife, working woman and guardian of moral and religious values

The peasant woman did not take any rest during her pregnancy. Children were born with the help of the village midwife, and even the husband would lend a hand if his wife was working in the fields when her labour started. Rural life was hard for a woman. Always busy, she worked harder than the *muzhik*, or peasant, who in winter could allow himself to sleep late in the warmth of the stove. As the poet Nekrassov wrote:

The keys to female happiness
To our cherished freedom
Have been mislaid, lost
By God himself.

Foreign observers of this rural world have often been shocked by the number of insulting sayings about women, such as "Long in the hair, short in the mind", or "The more a woman is beaten, the better the soup". But accounts by authors originating from the peasantry give the impression that women were valued as indispensable partners in working the land.

There is even a Russian literary tradition which regards women as superior to men, in the sense that they embody purity, self-sacrifice, humility, courage, enthusiasm for work, and faith. In other words, they are seen as guardians of moral and religious values.

A cosmic Christianity

In Russian society under the Tsars, and especially in the villages, the Church had an enormous influence. It defined good and evil, beauty and ugliness, honour and shame. It kept the parish registers where everyone's civil status was recorded. Each birth, marriage and death necessarily took on a sacramental nature, permeating the whole of family life with religious ritual.

One of the most important rites of the Russian Orthodox Church, that of marriage, equated the conjugal union with that of Christ and the Church, thus implying that marriage was indissoluble. There were a few exceptions to this rule. Divorce was permissible, for example, in the case of adultery. The party recognized as innocent had the right to remarry. But the peasant class were not often aware of this possibility.

The Russian people on the whole were deeply devout and the practice of religion was tightly interwoven with their daily life through its many festivals. The Christianity of the peasants could be described as a "cosmic Christianity", linked to the rhythm of the seasons and intermingled with the traditions and beliefs inherited from the pagan past. Though they were devout Christians, the peasants still believed in *domovoy*, the spirit of the house, *leshy*, the spirit of the woods, and *rusalki*, the water sprites.

Deeply bound by its secular traditions, wary of any change, this rural civilization was light years away from the Westernized world of the Russian intelligentsia. For a long time the peasants were the focus of contradictory appraisals by the country's intellectual élite. Either they were held in contempt and considered as "rustics wallowing in filth and ignorance", or they were idealized as "custodians of the most unique aspects of Russian civilization".

Both these points of view were based on a misunderstanding. Long humiliated, freed from serfdom only in 1861, the peasants could only resist pressure from the authorities and from poverty by taking refuge in their community life, with its rituals and beliefs which allowed them to express their collective personality. For them the family was a haven within which they passed on their cultural heritage and stood up to all the adversities that came their way. ■

HELENE YVERT-JALU, of France, is a lecturer at the University of Paris I. She is the author of a number of studies on population questions, the family and women in the USSR.

'Man is to woman as the sun is to the moon. He leads, she follows; thus harmony reigns.' In ancient China, an unchanging order based on ancestor worship and the submissiveness of women ruled the traditional family.

BY QI YANFEN

"THE virtue of the Emperor is like the wind, that of the common people is like the grass; the grass must bow at the passage of the wind."

"A prince must bear himself like a prince, a subject must act like a subject and a son must behave like a son."

For centuries Chinese society was imbued with the concept of the social hierarchy embodied in these sayings—an immutable order in which each person had his own station in life. Under the influence of Confucianism, in particular, the Celestial Empire conformed to a strict order based above all on the family.

The traditional Chinese family was a larger unit than the nuclear family of today, consisting of three or four generations all living under the same roof and encompassing not only direct descendants but also collateral kinsfolk such as aunts and uncles.

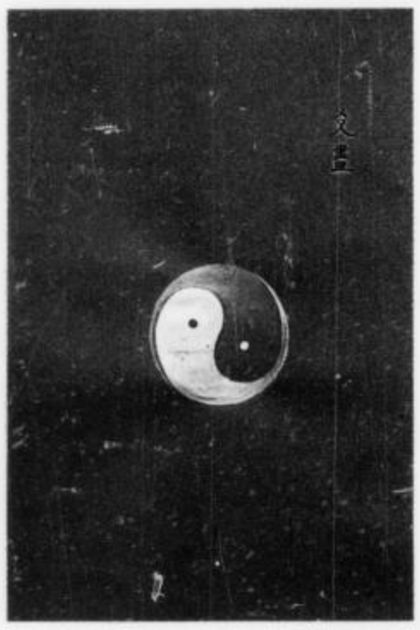
The existence and durability of this type of family grouping were reinforced by the standards and teachings of religion as well as by civil law and social custom.

The complexity of the relationships that governed family bonds was such that it even affected the development of the language. Whereas in the West such general designations as aunt, uncle and sister are considered adequate, the Chinese language is richly endowed with more precise appellations: "Jie Jie" (elder sister), "Di Di" (younger brother), "Jiu Jiu" (maternal uncle), "Shu Shu" (father's younger brother) "Sheng Sheng" (wife of a father's younger brother).

While this kind of family was the norm for the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, the situation was quite different among the lower classes. Economic difficulties resulting from famine and sickness as well as from the fragmentation of land holdings into tiny plots, made the task of maintaining large family units such as these well-nigh impossible. And once a family was broken up there was little chance of it ever being reconstituted.

Ancestor worship and duty

Ancestor worship was one of the essential characteristics of the traditional Chinese family. It emphasized the strength of the ties that bound its members even beyond the grave. The spirits of the ancestors, with whom the spirits of the liv-



This 19th-century painting depicts yin *(the feminine element) and* yang *(the masculine element), the two complementary forces or principles which are present throughout nature (sky and earth, light and darkness, fire and water, etc.). Their interplay, according to traditional Chinese cosmology, creates the harmony of the universe.*

A family meal in China at the turn of the century.

The empire of the ancestors

THE
FAMILY
PAST
AND PRESENT

ANCIENT CHINA

ing, themselves "future ancestors", would one day be reunited, were so many links in the continuous chain of humanity.

Emperor Qang Si (1662-1722) of the Qing dynasty once told the Papal Legate: "We know perfectly well that the souls of the ancestors cannot come and dwell in the tablets and cartouches that bear their names, but we try to convince ourselves that we are in their presence."

Hence the practice of offering them gifts which varied according to locality: pigeons, chickens, fruit, wine, wheat or rice. A part of every house was set aside for ancestor worship and, if the family was wealthy enough, a temple would be erected. On great occasions, such as the anniversary of Confucius, ceremonies were held in the house of the headman of the village.

These religious traditions go far back into Antiquity. From the fifth century BC, the teachings of Confucius laid great stress on the importance of filial piety. Above all, this involved the duty of ensuring the continuity of the family line. For a man, this meant fathering a son; for a widow, it meant rejecting all thought of remarriage and devoting herself to bringing up the children, especially the male children, of her deceased husband or adopting one of her husband's nephews. A couple that had only girl children had to adopt one of their sons-in-law who then took the name of his father-in-law.

Respect for the hierarchy of the social classes, which upheld the structures of the traditional feudal society, was firmly rooted in the family. Power was in the hands of the oldest generation. Then, within a single generation, the elder members always dominated their juniors. Thus, a nephew, even though he might be older than his uncle, still owed him respect and obedience. The power an older man exercised over his inferiors (members of younger generations, younger brothers and women) was virtually absolute and even gave him the right to inflict violence upon them.

Obedience and segregation of boys and girls

The established order was inculcated into children from the earliest age by teaching them the rules of filial piety and fraternal duty. During the first years of education, even though the two sexes were educated together, the difference of status between boys and girls was clearly defined.

The birth of a boy was an occasion for ritual and ceremony and an official presentation. The arrival of a girl into the world went by virtually unremarked. Very early on, the boys would be taught to show their dominance and the girls to be humble and submissive. A little later, the two sexes would be physically separated. The children would no longer sit on the same school bench or take their meals together.

Even before they reached adolescence, the children belonged to two totally separate worlds. The precept "Nan Zhu wai, Nüzhu nei" (man is master of the outside, woman of the inside) was

QI YANFEN
is a member of the Chinese permanent delegation to Unesco. A former professor of French at the University of Beijing, she has published a study of Western civilization and several articles on French literature. She has also translated a number of works from French into Chinese, including Simone de Beauvoir's novel *Le sang des autres* (1944; *The Blood of Others*, 1948). Her thesis, published in 1983, was a study of female characters in the works of Simone de Beauvoir.

A notary distributes the family property among its members. (19th-century Chinese engraving)

This photo of an early 20th-century Chinese courtesan illustrates the traditional Chinese criteria of feminine beauty: beautiful features, a perfect figure, and above all small feet.

one of the corner-stones of Chinese society. Boys therefore would be taught the rules of social behaviour and the girls the principles of domestic life.

Although these basic principles were the same for all social classes, there were, nevertheless, important differences. Women of the upper classes did not work and lived within a very closed setting. Their activities were restricted to running the house, supervising the servants and the feeding arrangements and looking after the children. Working-class women, however, had to share in the work of the family and sometimes even work in the fields. Apart from bringing up the children, their work usually consisted of looking after the mulberry trees and the silk worms, weaving, and being responsible for the seed store and the distribution of foodstuffs. Their economic contribution, therefore, was far from negligible.

The feminine ideal of ancient China

Children were prepared for their future situation in life. The future father was given considerable power and, if he was destined to become the head of the family, this power was virtually absolute. The future mother was readied for a life of submission and humility. Anything that might make

Wedding procession in Beijing, 1911.

her more free and independent was strictly forbidden. Thus it was held that "lack of culture is a virtue in women".

Naturally enough, a girl of strong character occasionally succeeded in rebelling against this kind of education and in affirming her identity as an individual. Such an attitude, however, met with general disapproval and was seen as a catastrophe for her parents. Some confirmation is to be found in literature of the existence of such exceptional girls, but their story is always presented as an example not to be followed.

The ideal young lady should as far as possible be pleasing to the eye. Beautiful features and a perfect figure were very important, but not more so than having small feet—feet "like the crescent new moon that danced divinely on a large golden lotus flower". A woman with small feet acquired an air of nobility and fragility which enhanced her chances of making a good marriage, aroused the esteem of those around her and, so it was said, ensured that her husband would remain faithful.

This criterion of physical perfection emerged very early on. It was widespread among the wealthier classes under the Song dynasty (960-1280) and by the end of the seventeenth century it was common to all classes. The custom of binding the feet, one of the most unusual to emanate from Chinese society, did not disappear until the time of the protest movement of 4 May 1919, under Sun Yat Sen.

A woman's grace did not, however, depend solely upon physical attributes. Her mother would have taught her a whole range of behaviour patterns: she must be humble, good-natured and respectful, open her lips as little as possible when she spoke, laugh without being noisy, never raise her voice, make sure she could not be seen if she looked outside, drink no alcohol, never go out at night. These rules complemented certain moral qualities that were judged to be important: she should always place herself a little in the background, never mention her own qualities, never make excuses for her faults, accept criticism without seeking to defend herself, always be discreet.

This "ideal" education did nothing to encourage the development of a woman's personality, but it prepared her to fit perfectly into the family structures of traditional society.

Feminine submissiveness

A girl brought up in this fashion was ready to conform to the principles propounded in the classic formula: three obediences, four virtues. The three obediences were those owed to her father by a girl, to her husband by a married woman and to her son by a widow. The four virtues involved a woman's duty to her parents-in-law, respect to her husband, good relations with her sisters-in-law and good neighbourliness.

Woman's permanent obedience to man is in-

herent in the traditional Chinese cosmological system: the Yin (female principle) is always subordinate to the Yang (male principle), while at the same time being linked and complementary to it. Confucius embodied this immutable order in the following formula: "Man is to woman as the sun is to the moon. He leads, she follows; thus harmony reigns."

Absolute obedience to the father became apparent in marriage as in all other matters, and a girl would take as her husband the man chosen by him, nor could she refuse to do so. As the proverb puts it: "Marry a cock and follow a cock, marry a dog and follow a dog." In this particular domain a young man was no freer than a young woman. If he did not like the girl but she suited his parents who felt that "she is just what we want", he would still have to perform his conjugal duties towards her to the end of his days. If, on the other hand, he liked her but his parents found her unsuitable, he would have to renounce all thought of her.

The young wife had as many duties towards her parents-in-law as to her own parents. Often she would find herself at the foot of the ladder of the family hierarchy and cast in the role of a servant, especially if it was a modest rural family. In some cases, if her situation became intolerable, she might have no other recourse than to flee or commit suicide.

Against such a background, the importance attached to female virginity can well be imagined. Its loss was considered to be particularly scandalous and to provide justifiable grounds for the annulment of a marriage. A woman's virginity was an essential bargaining factor in the marriage settlement and a key indicator of her virtue.

Wife to one man only

In traditional Chinese society, therefore, marriage was primarily a family affair rather than the union of two individuals and was often arranged at the time of the birth of the future bride and bridegroom. In no circumstances was it based on love or personal choice. Indeed, a marriage arranged on such a basis would have been viewed with scorn. Even when the engaged couple had been secretly intimate before marriage, the girl's family could promise her to another. In China, just as anywhere else, love affairs and elopements could occur, but under the Ming and Qing dynasties the fugitives would be pursued by the forces of the law, brought back and forced into submission. If one of the lovers were to die, decency demanded that the other did not survive him or her. The legend of Liang and Tso, the Chinese Romeo and Juliet, is an exemplary story of lovers who died for their love.

When a girl got married, she became a full member of her husband's family group and her primary duty was to produce a son to continue the family line. Confucians viewed inability to produce a male child as a serious fault, since it deprived the husband of his posterity. In such a case, therefore, the man was permitted to take a second wife or mistress to ensure continuation of the family line. Nevertheless, the first wife kept her position in the family hierarchy and the second wife was subordinate to her. The children of a second union were "attributed" to the first wife, who remained the only legitimate spouse.

If a wife was widowed, she was expected to remain faithful to her deceased husband. A decent woman was wife to only one man. The virgin widow who married the spirit of her fiancé, who had died before the wedding had taken place, was held in the highest esteem:

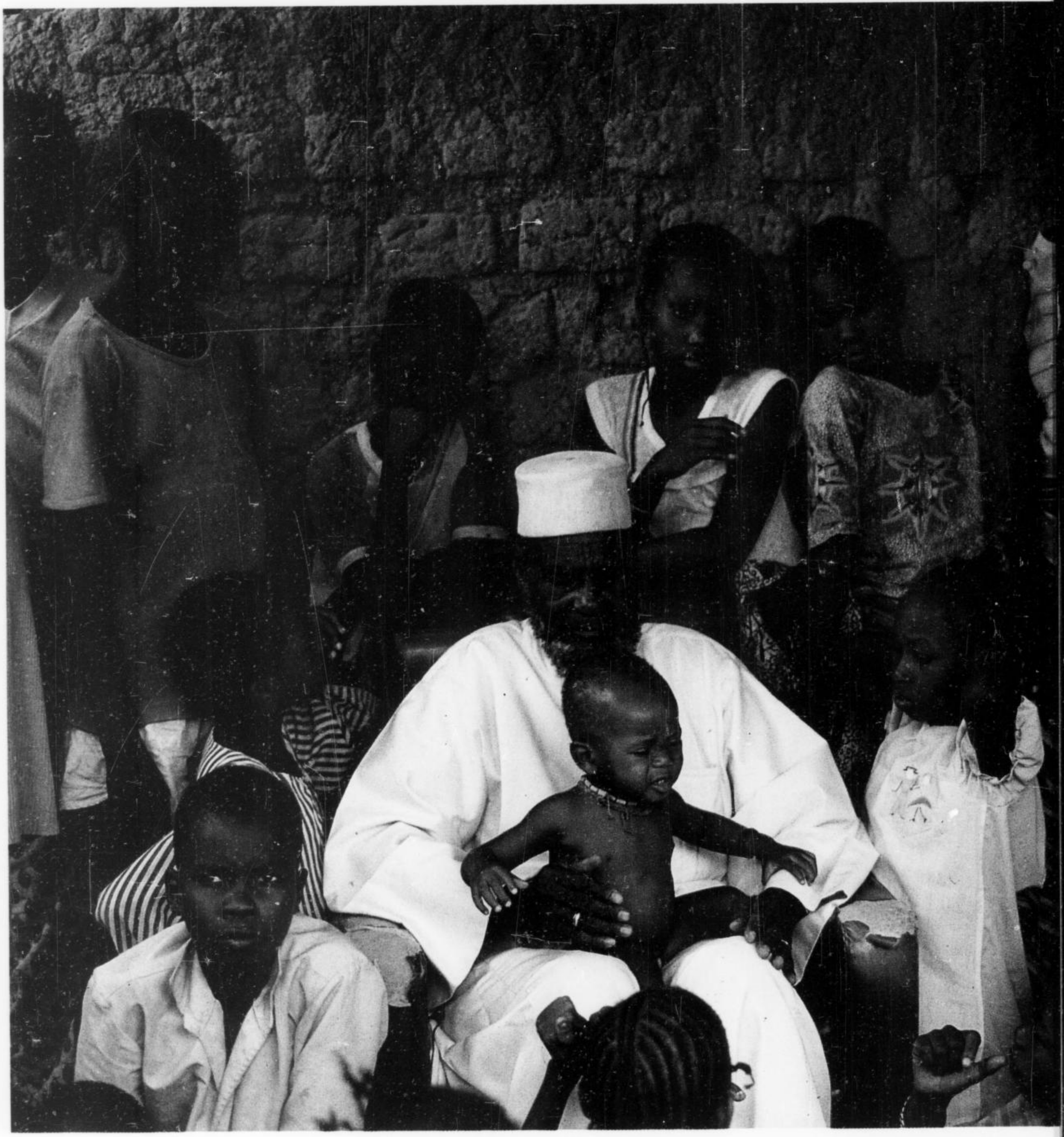
The man has vanished like the morning dew,
The woman in the frost of night remains,
The river in its endless flow runs on,
The lone-left bird laments eternally.

On the other hand, there is a proverb which says that "while it is easy to remain a virgin, widowhood is hard to bear"; so after three years of mourning the widow could think of remarrying. The parents-in-law would then arrange the marriage contract and would receive the gifts offered by the new husband, a just recompense for those they themselves had given for the bride purchase. The parents-in-law might also remarry the wife or fiancée of their dead son to a man without fortune and adopt the child of this second union.

In this manner, then, the Confucian family was perpetuated down the years and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that thousands of women rose up to throw off the shackles of their enslavement. ■

A two-wheeler for transporting all the family.

Lines of descent



THE
FAMILY
PAST
AND PRESENT

AFRICA

BY MANGA BEKOMBO PRISO

Chief Togo and his offspring at Ouahigouya (Burkina Faso).

Ashanti queen mother (Ghana). This polished black wooden sculpture (height 40 cm) was placed on the altar of the ancestors.

MANGA BEKOMBO PRISO, of Cameroon, is a sociologist with the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and the Ethnology and Comparative Sociology Laboratory of the University of Paris X, where he is engaged on research into lineal kinship systems and the development process in Africa. He was co-editor of *Marriage, Fertility and Parenthood in West Africa*, published in 1978 by the Australian National University, Canberra, and a contributor to a recent Unesco work, *Famille, Enfant et Développement en Afrique* (1988).

Modern legislation in Africa is tending to encourage individualism and weaken social cohesion. The traditional African family is adapting to new circumstances and proving more resilient than once seemed likely.

THE children of a modern Western family belong legally neither to the family of the father nor to that of the mother; they are, first and foremost, the children of a couple. In the most widespread of the African kinship traditions, however, lineal kinship systems are the rule and the children are attached to one or other of their parents' families. The father and the mother are therefore not both members of the family to which their children are linked.

There are two main unilineal kinship systems—the matrilineal and the patrilineal—but in certain cases the interconnections are so extensive as virtually to constitute bilineal systems.

Societies in which matrilineal kinship systems are the rule are of two kinds. In one, marriage as an institution is unknown and is replaced by what might be called "recognized cohabitation". This system, which is comparatively rare, is found among the Senufo of Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. In the other, which covers a much wider cultural field (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, and the Congo Basin), marriage is recognized and the wife leaves her home to live in the home of her husband or her father-in-law. In this case, the mother's brother rather than the natural father is considered to be the true father of the children.

Patrilineal societies are by far the most common, and it is with them that we are primarily concerned here. In contrast to modern societies which tend to stress the natural, biological link, African traditional societies lay emphasis upon a contractual social link based on the notion of the "parental role", which may be played by several people.

All the true sisters of the "genetrix" (natural mother), and women of the same age group, may be considered to be her children's "mother". Similarly, children will address all the genitor's brothers and close friends as "father". The child is, above all, the child of the lineal group to which he or she belongs. Members of the paternal or maternal clan, as well as the husband's other wives, share in rights and duties with regard to the child.

As well as the importance attached to the child/maternal uncle and brother/sister relationships, the particularly loving, "friendly" relationship between grandparents and grandchildren

should also be noted. The grandson is the mirror image of the grandfather and thus becomes the "little husband" of his grandmother. Similarly, the granddaughter who bears her paternal grandmother's name becomes the "mother" of her own father. These relationships are more than just a game and people around them adopt attitudes towards the children which correspond to the status of the personages the children enact.

Marriage strategy

The organization of a marriage involves a number of phases. First of all, the head of a group of marriageable young men offers the head of the potential bride's clan a series of services or gifts of food or other objects—including a particularly valuable one, which is wrongly called the dowry— and in exchange receives the desired girl. The first group then decides which of the boys will marry the girl, while the second group decides who is to receive the dowry and thus, in his turn, be in a position to acquire a wife.

By virtue of the dowry paid, the husband's clan acquires right of paternity over children of the marriage. In return, the bride's clan obtains an extension of its territorial rights and the right of intervention in the affairs of the clan to which it has become linked through the person of the bride. Normally, the dowry goes to the bride's brother, preferably born of the same mother and her immediate senior or junior. Otherwise it goes to another brother from the maternal home or to another son of the same father, or to a cousin.

The brother who receives the dowry will have a special relationship with his sister's children. His wife, bought with this dowry, is obliged to be submissive in relation to the sister-in-law thanks to whom she was able to get married. In some societies in central Cameroon, the two sisters-in-law are regarded as husband and wife and address each other in these terms.

The new bride sets up home on the territory of her husband's clan, usually on the father-in-law's property where the son may have his own huts. She is received by her mother-in-law who completes her education, teaches her the customs of the family and, later, declares her fit to manage her own "kitchen".

The mother-in-law refers to her daughter-in-law in the same terms she uses in speaking of her husband's other wives who are junior to her. Wives of this category belong by right to the female founders of the household—usually the first two wives. The ambition of these founding wives is to produce a line, if not a lineage, with a distinct name. To do this they have to gather together as many young women as possible who will produce many children—their sons' wives and other women, generally from their own former village, whom they bring and eventually place at their husband's disposal.

The man attempts to obtain other women from households that are already established.

"African traditional societies lay emphasis upon a contractual social link based on the notion of the parental 'role', which may be played by several people."

Thus, polygamy is as much the business of the husband as of his consorts and seems to be less an expression of the man's power and wealth than a means of perpetuating a form of society.

Polygamy makes it possible to achieve two apparently opposed objectives. It signifies a man's ascent in the social hierarchy (the man most envied is the man at the head of the largest community), and it also tends to divide that community into matrifocal-based households each seeking autonomy (lineages attached to a single founder-wife).

In the traditional African setting, marriage is a matter of considerable importance. It is through marriage that the constituent elements of society reproduce themselves and that groups and individuals further a complex strategy. Women play a crucial role in this process, since they gather together and control other women as wives and companions for brothers, sons and husbands.

The community and its households

The African family to which this process gives rise is an extended family which may consist of fifty to a hundred people living in a single domestic community. The men of the community form a sub-group organized in a hierarchy based on social position and order of birth. The hierarchical aspect is, however, moderated by a collective sense of the equality of all who can claim descent from the same ancestor.

The women's group consists, on the one hand, of the unmarried girls and widows of the lineage and, on the other, of women introduced into the community by marriage. The women's sub-group is organized into a hierarchy based on age and also, for the wives, on the order of arrival and status conferred upon them by the ritual of marriage.

Thus the adults of the community consist of the male group, linked by blood, and the female group composed of women from different families who are united by a common duty of solidarity with the group that accepted them.

The children have different prospects before them. The boys will remain to ensure the continuation of the lineage. The girls will leave to found new lineages but without breaking with their parents. For although a woman remains an outsider in her husband's family, she maintains close links with her group of origin within which she retains both duties and privileges.

In practice a woman spends as much time with her parents as in her adopted group and remains very independent of her husband. Her husband may have the right to repudiate her for misconduct or sterility, but she too can decide to leave her husband on the grounds of lack of security or incompatibility with his way of life. In the latter case her brothers and fathers must assume responsibility for the consequences.

11 COUNTRIES ON FILM

Little-known aspects of 11 developing countries are shown in a new video series "Terres d'espoir", produced by ORCHIDÉES, The World Picture Agency, in collaboration with Unesco. The series, comprising documentary films made between 1984 and 1988, takes viewers to Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, the Congo, Ghana, Mali, Mauritius, the Philippines, Senegal, Thailand and Viet Nam. To obtain the series, please contact: ORCHIDÉES, L'Agence d'Images du Monde, The World Picture Agency, BP 043, 94200 Ivry, France. Tel: (33.1) 46.71.82.53

The future of the family

The future of the family in the Middle East and North Africa was discussed at an international seminar held at the University of Tunis between 20 and 23 February 1989. The seminar, organized by Unesco and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), will be followed by 4 other meetings on the same subject as part of preparations for the International Year of the Family which will be proposed for 1994 at the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York later this year.

THE Tunis meeting was attended by twenty-four participants and forty-eight observers from many countries of the region and from different social and professional backgrounds (teachers, doctors, journalists, film-makers) and academic disciplines (history, sociology, economics, education).

The meeting reached the following conclusions. The region stretching from Mauritania to Pakistan, across the Arabic, Iranian and Turkish cultural areas, is still largely dominated by the model of the endogamous extended family, an authoritarian, strongly hierarchical and close-knit social institution.

However, from the second half of the nineteenth century, contact with European colonialism exposed this model to major social and economic shocks which tended to make it more flexible and led to a diversification of family types according to their degree of integration into modern life.

Two subjects received special attention at the meeting: family migrations and relations between men and women. Migration was considered, like the media and tourism, as an essential factor in acculturation. The families of migrants experience a dual process—slow disintegration in their country of origin, and adaptation to their host country.

As for relations between men and women, the meeting noted a change in practices concerning the choice of partner, age of marriage, conditions of divorce—with important psychological and even pathological consequences.

There was general agreement that the family is slowly but continually changing; that it will certainly remain the basic unit of society; and that the Western-type nuclear family is not necessarily a model to be imitated.

The changes which are today taking place in the family may not always be perceptible to an outside observer, and a superficial impression of rigid continuity with the traditional order is sometimes given. But profound changes in customs and ideas are continuing to take place, sometimes causing tensions to erupt in the individual or collective mind. ■

The woman who founds a household is considered to be the mother of all the children born in it, including those born to her husband's other wives. The children of the "same mother" rank in the hierarchy in accordance with the chronological order of their mother's marriage and the importance of the ritual with which the household was founded. The autonomy of the household increases with the age of the first-born son, the father's heir presumptive, and the arrival of other women and children. The eldest son will thus become the head of the household of which his "mother" is the mistress.

The household can thus be seen as a specific area in which the mother, the son and the mother's brother occupy the leading positions.

In traditional African societies, despite decades if not centuries of contact with the outside world, the totality of social relationships, including economic relationships, are governed by kinship. Social scientists who imposed blueprints for the evolution of these societies that were inspired by European history have been surprised by the durability of this phenomenon. According to these blueprints, a small degree of industrialization, accelerated urbanization, the introduction of schooling and conversion to Christianity and the insertion of African countries into the world political and economic order should have brought a complete upheaval in the family structure.

However, the old attitudes and practices have not disappeared; they have simply been adapted to suit the conditions of modern life. The authority of the leaders of the lineages remains sociologically stronger than that of the state. Polygamy persists, even if it is now practised more discreetly, with wives being dispersed in different places. The rules of the unilineal kinship system are still applied despite modern legislation which recognizes the family as consisting only of two parents and their children.

Many legal dispositions, primarily those relating to the individual ownership of property, are profoundly impregnated with modern notions of individualism which clash with the African tradition whereby the community is the main component of all identity.

The step from the right of the family community to occupy land to private, individually owned property has dealt a blow to the cohesion

Damming a stream in Burkina Faso. The elders are repairing tools beneath the palaver tree.

of the family group. Now the eldest son is no longer content to manage a shared land heritage; he is tempted to appropriate it for himself by establishing the title deeds in his own name. In so doing he runs the risk of becoming engaged in a long and tortuous legal process in which he will be in opposition to his brothers and sisters. This often leads to the breaking up of the patrimony into separate parcels of land, or its liquidation. These frequent legal procedures break the previously indestructible link that united the members of the community among themselves and with their ancestors.

Furthermore, the appearance of the modern, centralizing state has rendered superfluous many of the functions of the family head. The transmission of title deeds and responsibilities has become less important than that of goods and property left by bequest. This makes it important to distinguish between biological children who are entitled to inherit directly, from the brother's children (in patrilineal societies) and from the sister's children (in matrilineal societies).

The new African family

All this is leading to a strengthening of the process of individualization and to the break-up of traditional family unity. This does not mean, however, that the traditional African family is being transformed into the small, Western-style, nuclear family. Rather it is giving rise to single-parent families built around either the father or the mother. The movement towards individualization clashes with the need to be a part of a network of solidarity which, for the most part, remains the lineage. Some individuals join associations based on age or social position which offer their members social assistance and psychological support.

These few examples demonstrate the limits of change in the social and family fabric. This resistance to change may be explained in terms of an underlying rejection of individualistic ideology or of the limitations of state power. It seems likely, however, that the encounter between Western ideology and traditional social values will give rise to new family structures fashioned by a society undergoing a rapid transformation. ■

Students walking home after school near Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

Under new

Bound by economic ties as well as kinship, the traditional Japanese family has undergone sweeping changes in modern times. Its members have achieved greater independence...but at what cost?

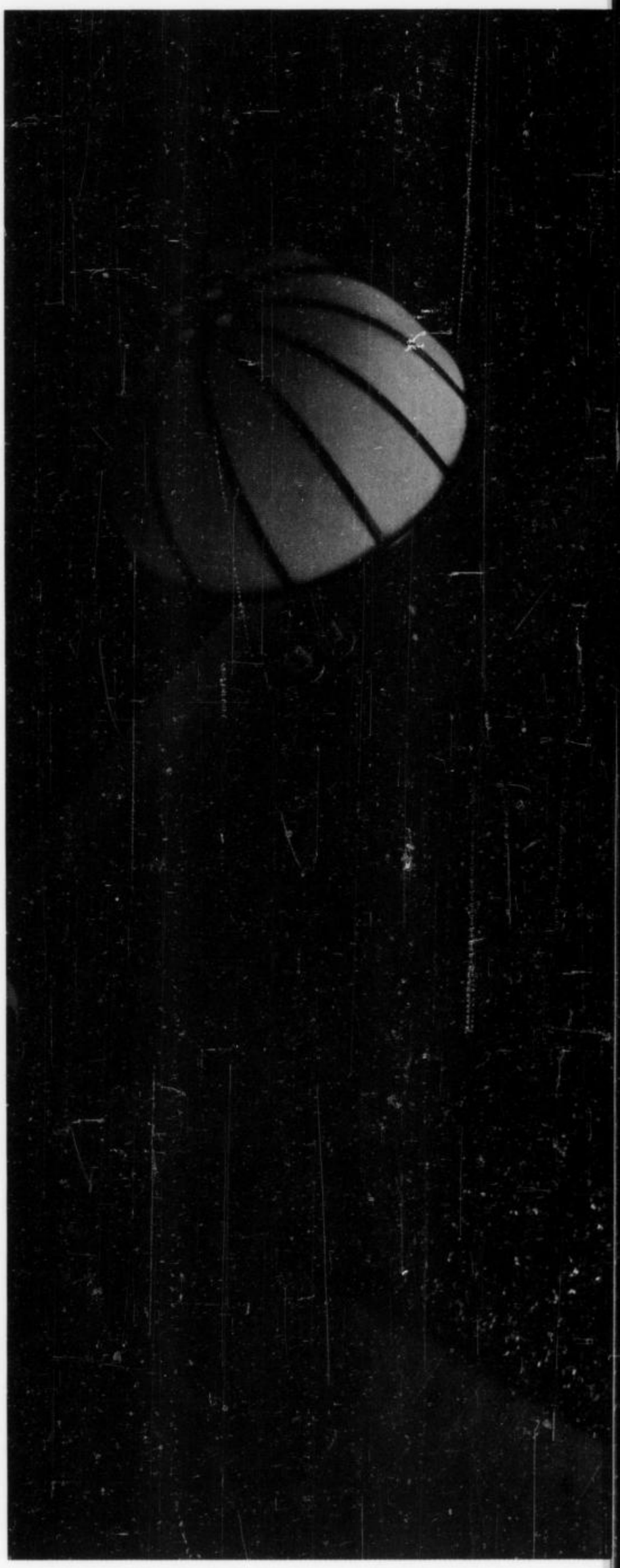
THE traditional form of the Japanese family is designated by the word *ie,* which denotes an original concept embracing not only the structure of the family but the bonds uniting its members, the family assets, and the activities connected with it.

In most cases, this basic family unit consists of a son—usually the eldest son living with his parents after marriage—his children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. But *ie* also includes deceased forebears and unborn descendants. The continuity of the family depends largely upon the maintenance of the material basis which guarantees its social status and way of life. Since its survival is closely connected with the maintenance of its activities, the Japanese family is often defined as a family business. The heritage is just as important as the continuation of the family line, and more so than the prosperity or even the life and death of individual members of the household.

The *ie* is primarily based upon family ties, the most important of which are those with parents and ancestors. The eldest son is responsible—in most cases alone—for perpetuating the *ie.* When they get married, the younger sons will in turn be called upon to found other *ie.* In theory the younger branches continue to owe allegiance to the senior branch, but in practice they soon achieve autonomy and their founders become ancestors of new *ie.* The only ones which remain linked are those families which are bound to each other by strong financial interests, or which live in the same neighbourhood. Few Japanese are well acquainted with their collateral family, and it is not uncommon for a Japanese to be incapable of quoting the exact names of his eight great-grandparents.

The wife as servant of the ie

In this typical organization, the wife's role is essentially to provide heirs for her husband's family. If the marriage proves to be sterile, the wife is sent back to her parents, and the adoption of a male child must then be considered. A wife's entire education prepares her to become the servant of her husband's lineage. In the early



Mealtime in a modern Japanese household.

management

BY KURIMOTO KAZUO

THE FAMILY
PAST AND PRESENT

THE CHANGING JAPANESE FAMILY

eighteenth century, the principles which should govern a wife's behaviour were defined by the moralist Kaibara Ekiken. They can be summarized as follows:

- When a wife enters her husband's house she must follow the instructions of his parents, wait upon them and be agreeable to them at all times. They should avoid excessive affection which would make her capricious, and they should not allow her to have a will of her own.
- A wife must respect her husband's brothers and sisters.
- She should be prudent and strict in her personal behaviour, rise early, retire late, and her attention should be concentrated upon the house throughout the day.
- She should rarely appear in public before the age of forty.
- Her behaviour should be dignified and reasonable, because her misconduct would ruin the house.
- Even a wife who is surrounded by servants should take an interest in everything, because "that is the wife's law".

And so the heavy task of maintaining the peace and ensuring the proper functioning of the house falls upon the wife. Her personality should be relegated to the background.

By contrast with the subordinate status of the wife, the powers enjoyed by the head of the family are very extensive. He can remove from the family register *(koseki)* any member who might harm the *ie*. Since the end of the nineteenth century, he has been the sole owner of the family assets. No other member of the family, even an adult, may enter into a contract without his permission. His powers, which may seem exorbitant, are based upon a profound consensus within the family.

The head of the family

On the other hand, the head of the family has certain responsibilities, and he may be stripped of his authority if he proves incapable of managing the family fortune. The "instructions for the head of a family" of a retail kimono merchant in Kyoto laid down that "even the head of the family may not neglect his work by lying in bed late or going out frequently in the evenings and indulging in gambling. If this happens, the older members of the shop's staff, who are responsible, should report the matter to his parents. When the family's capital and goods have been valued, compensation shall be paid to the head of the family and he shall be obliged to retire from management of the family business". The head of another Kyoto family stipulated that "if any of my potential successors begins to spend irresponsibly, and there is reason to think that he is not a trustworthy heir to the family business, the family, after consulting the parents, shall give him 5 per cent of the family assets and create a branch for him. When this separation has

The women of a Japanese household prepare a family meal c. 1930.

been completed, a reliable person shall be chosen to succeed him".

Although succession is hereditary, the head of the family or any other undesirable relative can be excluded. Such is the overriding importance of the *ie*'s continuity, that it is not uncommon for a new member to be adopted.

The basis of the nation

The traditional *ie* is more in the nature of a socio-economic institution than a community linked by blood-relationships. The head of the family strongly resembles the head of a business. When the question of his succession arises, this business does not necessarily give priority to his "blood child". The paramount consideration is that the enterprise be headed by a competent manager.

The *ie* system is of very ancient origin. It goes back to the eleventh century, but it was during the second half of the Tokugawa shogunate that it became consolidated and officially established, partly under the influence of Confucian doctrines. The *ie* type of organization soon ceased to be confined to the samurai caste and the rich merchant and farmer class, and became a model for all Japanese families. It became the very basis of the nation and one of the main components of Japanese identity.

Although it was criticized after the Second World War on the grounds that it had justified militarism and was an obstacle to democratization, the *ie* concept has survived in big firms, although divested of its former political and ideological connotations.

Absentee fathers

The Japanese family has evolved considerably since the 1946 Constitution came into force. Although the traditional *ie* still survives, new legal structures favour the development of nuclear families (63.4 per cent in 1970) by granting equal rights to men and women and imposing a distribution of the estate among the children. This trend has been strengthened by post-war industrial and urban changes. Nowadays, families are much smaller, usually consisting of only one or two children. The generations live apart from each other and the children, even the unmarried ones, soon acquire their autonomy.

This trend accelerated from the 1960s onwards, with the growth in the number of jobs and the resulting mobility. Initially it was mainly young workers who left rural areas for the urban industrial centres. Then, many heads of rural families took seasonal employment in expanding urban areas, leaving the cultivation of the land to their wives, children, or other members of their families. These seasonal jobs soon became permanent and so it became common for heads of families to be absent most of the year. This trend is not confined to manual workers.

A group of men eat together in a Japanese restaurant. Because of professional commitments Japanese fathers today are more often absent from the family table than in the past.

"Many elderly persons live with their children, whereas in the past it was the children who lived under their parents' roof." Below, a little Japanese boy makes music for his grandfather.

In today's small two-generation families the bond between mother and child is closer than ever.

Transfers of managerial and executive staff to new project sites are becoming increasingly necessary because of economic expansion.

It is difficult for a family to follow the father if he is moved around too often. Finding family accommodation is quite a problem, and too many moves are bad for children and their studies.

The phenomenon known as *tanshin hunin* (unaccompanied transfer of a member of the family) is common in Japan today, but it is giving rise to problems. The family head may find a substitute for *ie* in his links with his firm—employment for life, membership of a community, concern for its prosperity and its perpetuity—but he suffers from the loosening of family ties. Many men only see their families at weekends. This may be one of the causes of the depressions, stress and alcoholism which afflict so many men.

The solitary wife

The wife suffers no less than her husband. She is increasingly isolated. Even when he lives at home during the week, her husband goes to work early in the morning and comes back late in the evening. Children are at school all day or go off in the afternoon to *juku* (extra private lessons). Many married women react to this solitude by looking for a job or taking part in the activities of cultural groups.

Relations between mothers and their children are also changing. The bonds between them are close and exclusive. Because of the decline in the birth rate, children find fewer playmates in their neighbourhood and almost none at home. Deprived of contacts with children of their own age, they cling to their mothers' apron strings. In the extended families of the past, the psychological link with the mother was only one family relationship among others. Since children formed their own society within the group, they had less difficulty leaving home. Now separation from the mother is becoming much more painful for both mother and child. For the mother, the chief concern is her child's success at school. Forty years ago a child who was accompanied to secondary school by his mother would have been the laughing-stock of his schoolmates. Nowadays, many mothers accompany their children, not only to secondary school, but even to the university. Newspapers wax ironical about mothers who accompany their sons as far as the door of the firm on their first day at work.

The ageing of the population is having other consequences. For a long time life expectancy in Japan was 50 years, but by 1982 it had risen to 75 for men and 80.4 for women. In 1930 most fathers died before their youngest child had completed university studies, and the mother rarely outlived the head of the family. Now, when the youngest child has finished his or her studies, it is common for the father to have a life expectancy of a further twenty years and the mother thirty. In many cases the parents are neither financially nor psychologically prepared for the departure of their children. This is an unprecedented situation, and no cultural model exists to help them to cope with it. A new life-style will have to be created which will enable older people to take an active part in the life of the community, assume their social responsibilities and define their new identity. In fact, there is no ready-made answer to this problem.

Many elderly persons live with their children, whereas in the past it was the children who lived under their parents' roof. Under the present law, each descendant receives an equal share of the family estate, and the question arises which of the children shall take in the elders. The average household rarely possesses the necessary resources and space. The nuclear family is often faced with a crisis when it has to assume responsibility for the health care of its elders.

The broken bond

This crisis is reflected in customs relating to the organization of meals. Formerly, meals were rituals which strengthened the cohesion of the family group. Now this essential function is on the wane and in many families most meals are no longer taken in common. About 60 per cent of fathers do not take part in the family breakfast, and 30 per cent of them are absent at dinner time. Most mothers have lunch alone at home. The decline in the frequency of meals eaten in common is weakening the psychological bonds between members of the same family.

Developments in the mass media also run counter to the family spirit. The family is ceasing to be a place for the exchange of news. With the growth in the number of channels, cable television and the diversification of programmes, watching television is becoming an individual activity. Increasingly, each member of the family has his or her own sources of information and tends to share them less and less with the rest of the family.

However, this may be just a passing phase, and new modes of behaviour may emerge. For instance, there is an increase in the number of "houses for two generations", in which elderly parents and their children can live together while preserving their independence. It is also probable that the revival of traditional feasts, bringing together members of different generations, and in which everyone has a role to play, points to a tightening of family links. Perhaps a new cultural model is about to emerge? ■

KURIMOTO KAZUO,
of Japan, is a Unesco staff member specializing in educational administration and management.

Marina, Sarah, Michel

'Conventional' marriage in Europe today is facing competition from new forms of family life shaped by the aspirations of both partners to an equal chance of fulfilment.

MARINA is thirty-three years old and is the mother of five-year-old Sarah. She is expecting a baby boy. Starting off with no money, no influential contacts and relying solely on her own courage, tenacity and intelligence, and on some limited funding from the French Ministry of Culture, she has created her own theatre company which she runs singlehanded, selecting the repertoire, organizing tours both in France and abroad, and hiring and training the members of the troupe.

Marina is not married, but when she goes off on tour she entrusts Sarah to the care of Michel, Sarah's father, or to Jean, her lover and the father of the child she is expecting, but who does not live with her. The friendship between Marina and Michel has survived not only the ending of their period of cohabitation but also the new liaison with Jean. There is no jealousy between the two men and they take turns, in perfect harmony, to look after Sarah during her mother's absences. Whenever they are free to do so, they give Marina a hand when she is putting on a show in Paris or in a town in the immediate suburbs that is close enough for them to get to after work.

How many couples are there in Europe that have had the same kind of success in finding fulfilment while breaking the conventions which make cohabitation the criterion of existence as a couple and the sacrifice of her professional life the condition of a woman's personal happiness? Their number seems to be increasing. But before we examine these new family life-styles let us take a look at the general situation of the family in Europe.

Research carried out in twelve countries of Eastern and Western Europe shows that, in families where the parents are married, the wife always spends more time than the husband on domestic tasks and the education of the children. In France and the United Kingdom, for example, the women of the household devote four or five times more time per day than their husbands to these tasks. Even when the women have a professional activity, the gap is still three times greater. Similar discrepancies are to be found in many East European countries.

The time spent on domestic and educational tasks increases, of course, when couples have children. But the wife always spends much more time on domestic duties than the husband. When his wife has a professional activity, the husband's participation is greater, but it remains only "help" and can in no sense be seen as equal sharing.

The husband as breadwinner

Although 43 per cent of married women in Europe are gainfully employed, the proportion falls far short of that of gainfully employed men, which ranges from 78 per cent to 90 per cent according to the country concerned. Husbands are more often the family breadwinners than wives, who, when they do work outside the home, generally earn much less. Wives work part-time much more frequently than husbands. In some countries (the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany), the presence of young children in the home reduces by ten times the likelihood that a woman has outside employment. In other countries (France, Belgium and Denmark), the number of children rather than their age is the determining factor.

Despite the progress noted in recent years, attitudes towards role-sharing within the family are evolving only slowly. In 1987, 41 per cent of Europeans said that they were in favour of families in which both parents had an occupation which both found equally absorbing and in which domestic tasks and child care were equally shared. Some 29 per cent preferred a situation in which the wife had a less demanding activity than the husband and 25 per cent preferred a family in which only the man went out to work.

The search for happiness and new family life-styles

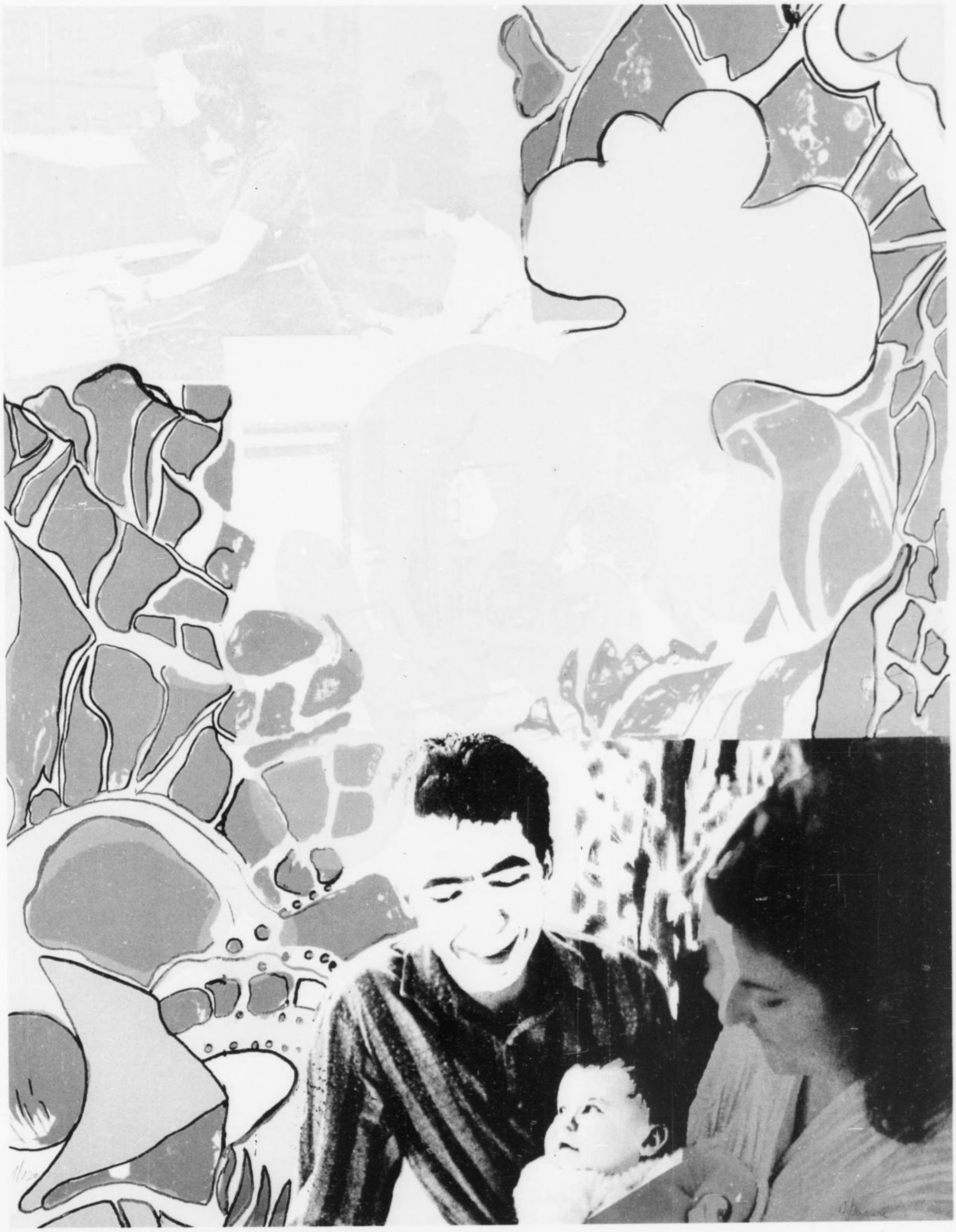
The traditional division of tasks between the sexes does not seem to please all Europeans. A growing number of men and women are looking for life as a couple outside conventional marriage.

Throughout Europe the decrease in the marriage rate is offset by an increase in the number of unofficial unions. In France alone, which is still far behind the Scandinavian countries, 10 per cent of all couples (that is to say about one million couples) live together in these free unions. Among young couples living in the Paris conurbation and in which the male partner is under twenty-five years of age, the proportion is as high

***Small Family** (1986), a lithograph by the Greek artist Arghyro Paouri.*

and Jean

BY ANDRÉE MICHEL



"In Europe, there has been an increase in the number of single-parent families, in which the children live with only one of the parents—in most cases with the woman."

as 50 per cent. A quarter of these French couples, of all ages, have and bring up children. More young women than men of equivalent class prefer these unofficial unions, since this new life-style seems to them to be more egalitarian.

The men and women of Europe are no longer prepared to put up with unhappy marriages. Since 1965, there has been a big increase in the number of divorces throughout the continent. Yet divorce is much more frequent in the northern countries of Europe (Scandinavia) than in the southern countries (France, Italy, Spain). Except in Ireland, where divorce is still forbidden, the authorities in most countries have made divorce procedures easier, although legislative changes have lagged behind changing public attitudes.

One consequence of these changes has been an increase in the number of single-parent families, in which the children live with only one of the parents—in the majority of cases with the woman (90 per cent in France, 93 per cent in Denmark). In the view of the European Parliament, the single-parent family must be considered as a "family unit" and must not be subject to any "discrimination".*

With the increase in unofficial unions, the number of children born out of wedlock has increased significantly. In 1980, 40 per cent of Swedish children were born to unmarried mothers, a status all the more acceptable to public opinion in that social reforms have favoured the single parent with a child. In France, the number of children in this situation increased by 50 per cent between 1982 and 1986 to reach a total of about 171,000, or 22 per cent of all births, a sure sign of a profound change in attitudes and behaviour. The traditional situation of the woman being abandoned by the child's father is becoming less widespread. Along with this a new pattern is emerging in which the child is acknowledged by the father. In 1980, in France, 50 per cent of children born outside marriage were acknowledged by the father, as compared with 22.5 per cent in 1968.

Except in Scandinavia, European law-makers continue to treat couples living together outside marriage unfavourably in comparison with married couples, but in most countries an attempt is being made to lessen discrimination against children born out of wedlock. In Ireland, for example, reforms tending in this direction were passed in 1986.

How is life organized in single-parent families, most of which are the outcome of divorce or separation? In at least 90 per cent of cases the custody and upbringing of the children are entrusted to the mother. The husband is obliged to pay a maintenance allowance to the wife for the upkeep of the children. In some countries (Luxembourg, Denmark, France) the authorities may even pay the share of a defaulting husband so that a wife without resources and with children to support is not left unprovided for.

More than in the past, European law-makers are taking note of the desire of the couple for equality of status and the growth in the number of women entering the labour market. Denmark has even gone so far as to give equal parental authority to both partners, whether or not they are married or living together, so as to meet the aspirations of single fathers who, if there is a separation, have many fewer rights than the mother over the children. In France, alternating custody of the children is on the increase.

Overcoming loneliness

Where does Marina, whose story we outlined above, fit into this scheme of things? She and her daughter can hardly be considered a single-parent family since, strictly speaking, the paternal role played by Michel, Sarah's father, and Jean, the father-to-be of the expected child, excludes them from this category. There are many other forms of family that are equally hard to categorize. Being neither legal marriages, unofficial unions nor single-parent families, they figure in none of the statistics and in no sociological data.

Most European countries are experiencing an increase in the number of people, especially young people, living singly. In France, in 1985, records showed that 27 per cent of men between the ages of 30 and 34 and 26 per cent of women in the same age group were living singly. What kind of a life do they lead? Are they hardened bachelors withdrawn into themselves and immured in solitude? Or have they created around themselves, as a substitute for the family group, a social network from which they draw the af-

ANDRÉE MICHEL, of France, is a research director at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), where she founded a study group on sex roles, the family and human development. Among her many publications are *Sociologie de la famille et du mariage* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), *Le féminisme* (PUF, 1986) and *Down with Stereotypes! Eliminating Sexism from Children's Literature and School Textbooks* (Unesco, 1986).

fective and social support necessary to maintain their personal equilibrium?

Among them are those who do not live with their partners, each member of the couple living in his or her own home, but both putting a proportion of their resources into a common fund so that, if they have children, they can between them fulfil this new financial commitment.

There are also cases where members of the same sex live together. They may be a homosexual couple, friends or people linked by the need for mutual economic assistance (the unemployed or those who cannot find or afford accommodation). The growing number of "households" (in the statistical sense of the term) consisting either of a single person living alone or of two or more people of the same sex, covers a multitude of diverse forms of social life, all of which are substitutes for the traditional family framework.

Despite change, parent/child solidarity persists

This variety of horizontally developing family forms contrasts with the stability of the vertical relationships within a family group and the permanence of intra-family solidarity.

All surveys show that the desire to live a happy life within the family group remains pre-eminent. Young adults—mothers and "new fathers"—derive the greatest satisfaction from bringing up their children. And at parties held to celebrate the rites of passage (birth, adolescence, marriage, death) families gather together to renew their links of social solidarity.

This solidarity shows no signs of disappearing. Young adults benefit from the support of their parents in many circumstances—during their studies, on marriage and in the early stages of life as a couple, on the purchase or fitting out of a home or of a house in the country. The same solidarity may be in evidence later, on the occasion of a major unforeseen expense, illness or interruption of work due to an accident or unemployment. In return, in their old age parents are helped by their children, who visit them fairly regularly and may even give them financial help.

Today the individual European considers that he or she has a right to happiness. Very often there springs from this a refusal to enter into or remain within the rigid framework of the family or of marriage with its fixed conventional codes. A further consequence of this is the ever more widespread practice of defining for oneself a life-style in which the search for personal happiness can be fulfilled.

Europeans are now less willing to allow legislators to set rules of behaviour for their private lives and tend to reject legal discrimination between those who are married and those who are not married, between those who are divorced and those who are not, between heterosexuals and homosexuals and between legitimate children and "natural" children.

"The desire to live a happy life within the family group remains pre-eminent. Young adults—mothers and 'new fathers'—derive the greatest satisfaction from bringing up their children."

The notion is spreading in Europe that human rights are not exclusively political rights, but also concern the liberty of individuals to choose the form and content of their private lives, particularly with regard to the identity of their partners, the right to divorce, the number of children they have, and contraception. These are the issues in a struggle that is spreading in all European societies, at least in those where social movements, often inspired by women, are fighting against the survival of patriarchal standards now thought to be incompatible with the rights of the individual and with happiness. ■

* "Femmes d'Europe: 10 ans", in *Femmes d'Europe*, No. 27, June 1988

The women of Arembepe

Many heads of families in Brazil are women. The case of Arembepe, a fishing village near Bahia, suggests some reasons why this is so.

THE colonization of Latin America by the Portuguese and the Spanish was decisive for the organization of family life in this part of the New World. Since colonial times, the patriarchal family has been the predominant model, either nuclear (essentially in the towns and cities) or extended (in the countryside). Matrifocal families centred on a woman and her children are also found, although in smaller numbers, notably in the regions densely populated by blacks or mulattoes.

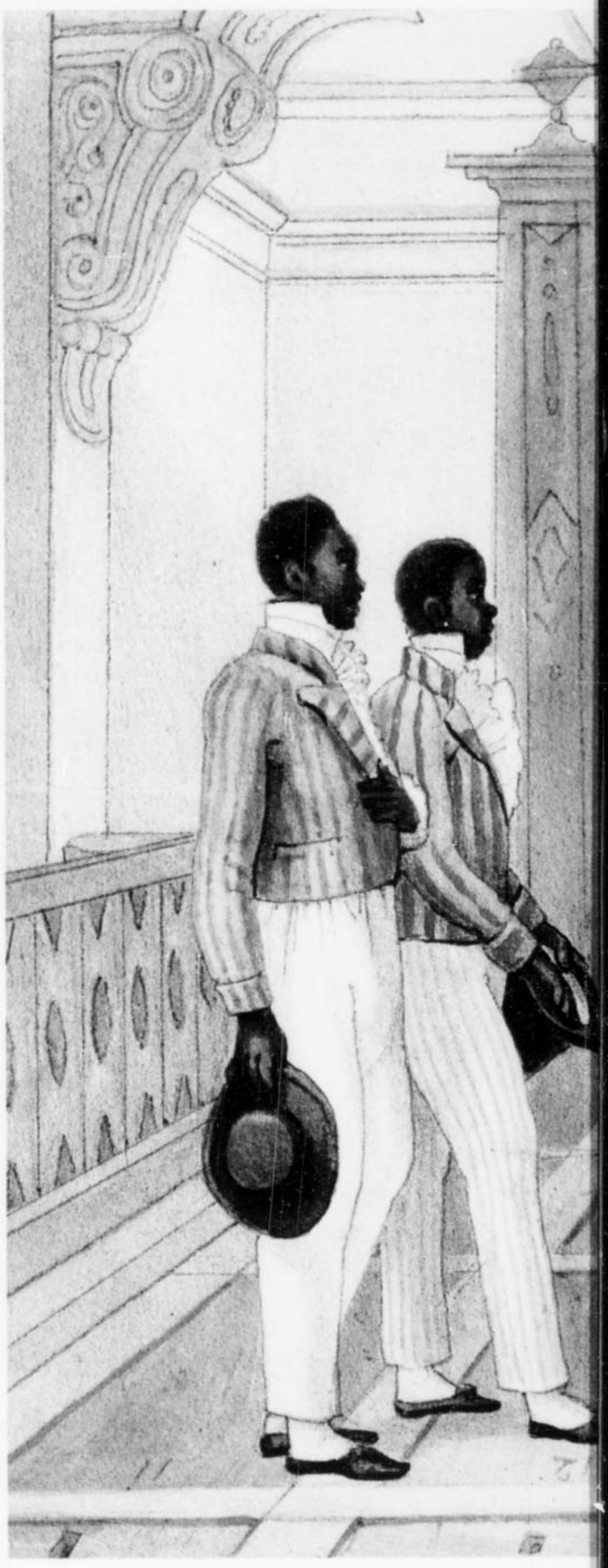
The black population of Latin America were brought there as slaves early in the seventeenth century. The indigenous populations (heirs of such brilliant civilizations as those of the Mayas, the Incas and the Aztecs, or fragile communities threatened with extinction) refused to work for the European invader, and slavery came to provide a supply of labour for the gold and silver mines, and the sugar, tobacco and cotton plantations.

Even after the abolition of the black slave trade, clandestine ships continued until the mid-nineteenth century to bring their human cargoes to Latin America's two main slave ports, Salvador de Bahia in Brazil and Cartagena de Indias in Colombia.

This period saw the establishment of a rigid social stratification related to economic power but also to skin colour. The rich landed proprietors were white, and the poor agricultural labourers were former black slaves. At the same time mixed unions brought about a mingling of the three ethnic groups (indigenous, black, and white) and a synthesis of their cultures.

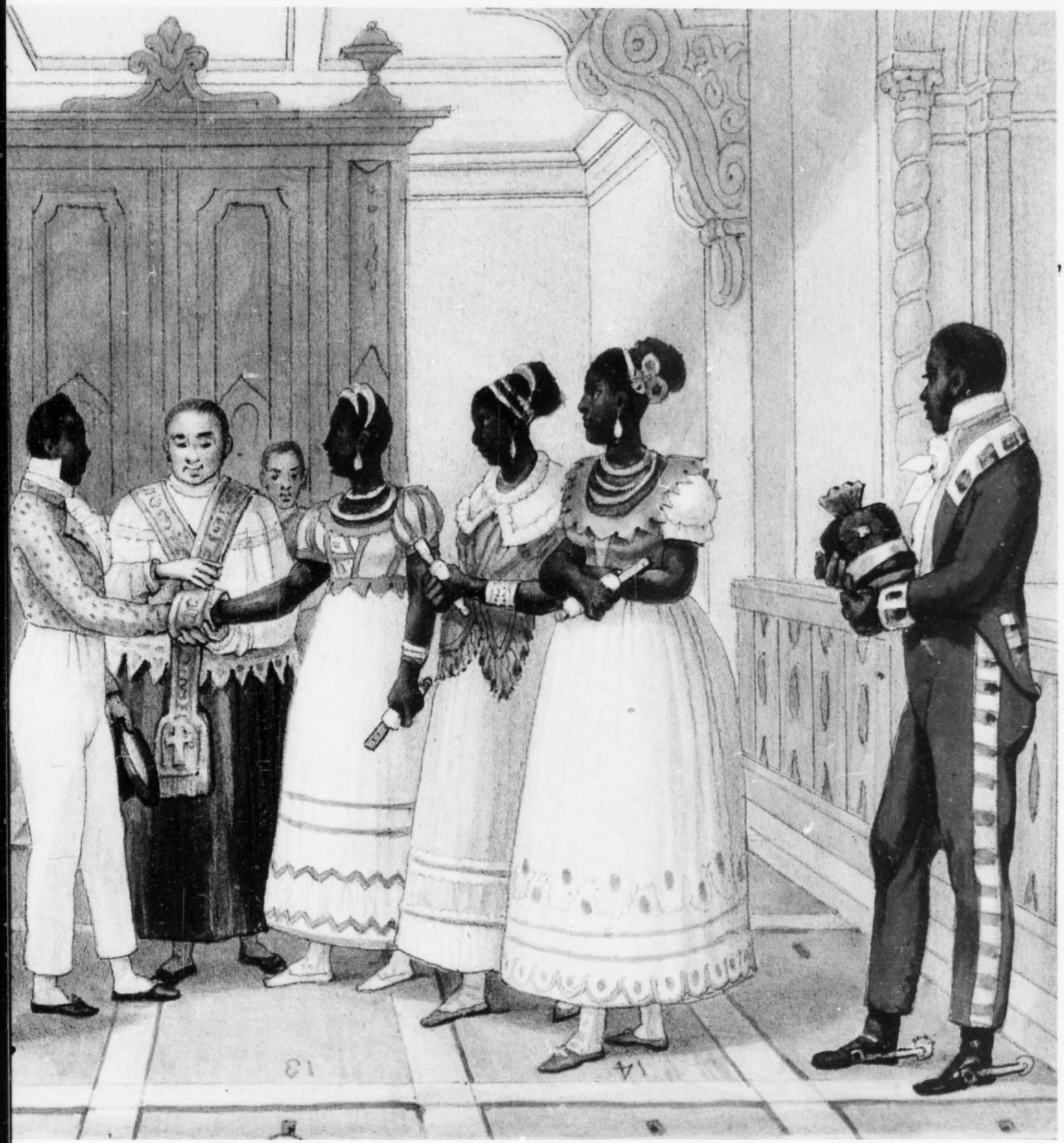
By separating the female slaves from their menfolk (a group of slaves was never allowed to consist of more than one third of women), the slave trade actually encouraged their sexual exploitation by their masters. It was not unusual for the latter to recognize and bring up the children they had had by a slave. The slave woman, for her part, transmitted her own culture to the master's children along with her milk, her lullabies, her legends and her games.

Terra-cotta Maya statuette of the pre-classical period (1500 B.C.-300 A.D.).



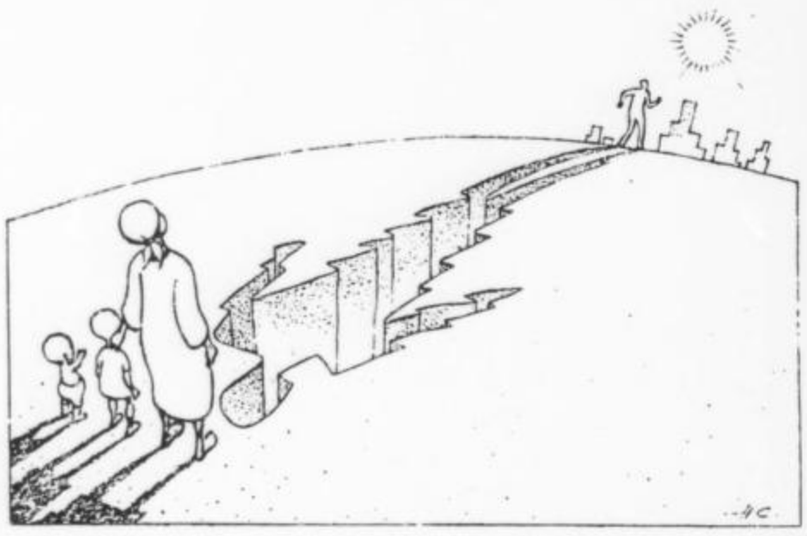
The marriage of a black couple in the house of a rich family is depicted in this engraving by the French artist Jean-Baptiste Debret (1768-1848).

BY MARIZA DE ATHAYDE FIGUEIREDO AND DANDA PRADO



THE FAMILY PAST AND PRESENT

LATIN AMERICA



"Migration is a growing source of insecurity for women, especially if the men who leave for the cities fail to send money home or leave at a crucial time of the agricultural year." (United Nations Population Fund "State of World Population" Report, 1989).

MARIZA DE ATHAYDE FIGUEIREDO, Brazilian sociologist, journalist and photographer, is an editor of the Rio de Janeiro feminist magazine *Impressões*. She has published articles in a number of magazines, including *Tiers Monde* and *Feminist Issues*. Her doctoral thesis (University of Paris VII, 1981) was a study of the social and economic role of women heads of families at Arembepe, Brazil.

DANDA PRADO is a Brazilian educationist, psychologist and teacher with a special interest in the social role of women. Among her published works are *O que é familia* (1982, "What is the Family?") and *O que é aborto* (1983, "What is Abortion?"). She has contributed to several anthologies, including *Sisterhood is Global* (Archer Press, New York, 1984).

A Brazilian woman at work in a light engineering plant.

Families that were not patterned on the white model were mostly extended families grouping children around their mother. On the other hand, the civil code of the whites in most cases upheld the patriarchal régime. Legislation inspired by the Napoleonic Code of 1808 attributed inferior status to women and kept them dependent on men, according to the norms of the classic patriarchal family. This statute has only recently been modified to give greater autonomy to women and to allow marriages to be dissolved.

The contemporary family

Cultural and ethnic intermingling, rampant urbanization (in Brazil today 70 per cent of the population lives in the towns and cities), internal and external migration, changes in women's status and the profound transformation of models of reproduction, have contributed among other factors to the appearance of new family structures and favoured the emergence throughout Latin America of the woman as head of the family.

This phenomenon, which is not new, is coming to be seen as part of a survival strategy for needy populations. It has been brought about by circumstances and not choice, since women and men invariably aspire to contract a legitimate union before the priest and the mayor.

The man considers himself to be the head of the family and wishes to be treated accordingly. The mores of patriarchal society confer authority on him whether or not he assumes the obligations springing from it, notably that of feeding his wife and children. Furthermore, by virtue of the virility cult known as machismo, the man has a right to maintain extra-conjugal relations or to gamble and drink, which does not always leave him enough to provide for his family.

When she is forced to assume the role of head of the family, the woman generally adopts an ambiguous attitude towards her husband or partner. This ambiguity is the result of her contradictory situation, since society has promised her a man who would provide for household needs, leaving her to do the housekeeping and bring up the children. She does not boast of being the head of the family; on the contrary she conceals this disagreeable status by maintaining that she is simply helping to meet household expenses.

It was not until 1978 that this phenomenon became the object of major sociological and economic studies, notably at the request of the United Nations. In 1974 it had already been calculated that one third of the world's heads of families were women. However, only now is awareness of the problem and its impact on developing countries beginning to make itself felt.

Arembepe is a fishing village near Bahia in Brazil, with a population of 2,000 which is swollen in summer by an influx of holidaymakers. There is evidence that it already existed as a settlement of Tupinamba Indians in 1509 when the Portuguese arrived. A representative microcosm of rural communities both in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, in 1981 Arembepe was the subject of a survey on women heads of families.

The expansion of industry and tourism has transformed the Arembepe fishermen into salaried workers. The factories do not employ women, who are reduced to taking ill-paid jobs working for holidaymakers. However, 25.5 per cent of the women of Arembepe are heads of families and are responsible for one or several persons. They are more numerous in the poor categories (57.62 per cent) than among the better-off.

The situation of these women is not covered by the official definition of the Brazilian Office of Geography and Statistics, whereby only the husband is considered to be a head of the family, independently of his contribution to the family budget and the legal situation of the couple.

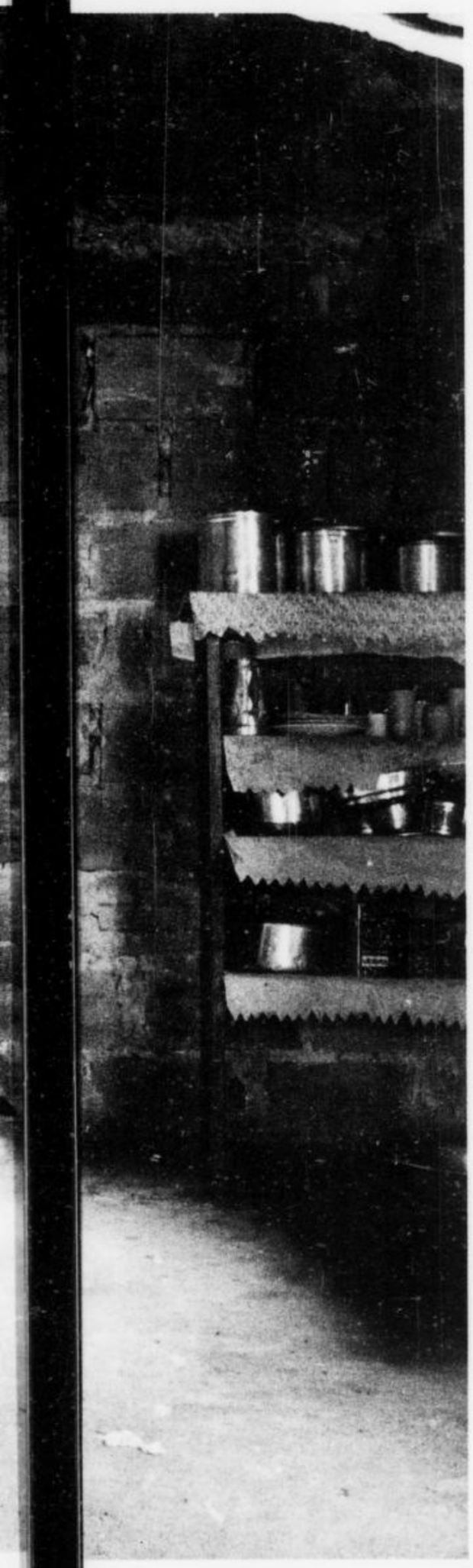
Thus the single, separated or widowed women who house and feed their children, grandchildren and elderly or handicapped parents are deprived of the title of head of the family. If they have a partner with them on the day when the census official arrives, he is considered to be the head of the family, whether or not he is the father of any of the children, contributes to the family income, or has been living there for years or only a few months.

The man's role as head of the family is thus often no more than symbolic. His material obligations towards his wife and children are those he wishes to recognize. The woman has no way of forcing him to assume the role of economic provider which is socially and culturally his.

In general, the women begin by hiding the reality from themselves by saying that male failings are temporary. When they have accepted that these are irremediable, they look for another man. If half of the women heads of families at Arembepe have had a single regular union, 35.59 per cent of them, notably the youngest, have had two. This second union reflects the search for a new male social reference, even if it offers no material guarantee or stability.

After several fruitless experiences, the woman finally establishes a matricentred family group and only has occasional relations with men. The man goes, the children stay. ■

"The man goes, the children stay."



New family structures

THE
FAMILY
PAST
AND PRESENT

QUEBEC

BY FRANCINE DESCARRIES AND CHRISTINE CORBEIL

King and Queen, *a work by the British sculptor Henry Moore (1898-1986).*

The impact of change on the patriarchal and pro-natalist pattern of traditional family life in Quebec

THERE have been many changes in family structures and standards in North America over the past twenty years, but nowhere else in the West have these changes been so spectacular as in Quebec. The religious and legal traditions of Quebec society long favoured the maintenance of a conservative matrimonial and family ethic and provided a rigid framework for conjugal and parental relationships. It was not until the end of the 1960s, very late in comparison with other areas of North America, that traditional family behavioural and reproductive norms began to change, as part of the wider movement towards secularization which was then current in Quebec.

Three statistics demonstrate the scope and direction of the changes that have occurred since then.

In 1965, the marriage rate, that is, the percentage of single people likely to get married before the age of fifty, was around 85.9 per cent for men and 93.5 per cent for women. Twenty years later, the rate had gone down to about 49 per cent for men and 51.7 per cent for women. In other words, during that period there was a significant trend towards rejection of the traditional rules governing the organization of family life and a diversification of forms of union. This phenomenon may also explain the fact that in 1988 a third of all births occurred outside marriage, whereas in the late 1960s the proportion was less than 10 per cent. The fact that births occurred outside legal marriage, however, does not necessarily imply that they were not the fruit of some form of union.

The divorce rate provides another significant pointer. In 1988, it was estimated that more than one in three marriages contracted during the year would end in divorce. Twenty years earlier, when divorce was legally more difficult to obtain, only one marriage in ten was likely to be dissolved.

Finally, with the women of Quebec being among the most fertile in the West, Quebec had long had a steadily increasing birth rate. On the eve of the 1990s, however, the situation has changed radically. The current (1988) fertility rate of 1.47 is not enough (2.1) to ensure maintenance of existing population levels. In recent years, Quebec has experienced one of the lowest fertility rates in the world.

Past Recovery *(1979) by Esther Parada. This monumental family portrait (2.50 x 3.70 m) consists of one hundred hand-toned photographs. With the works of other artists of past and present, it features in an exhibition on "The Family" being held at The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (USA) from 30 April to 6 August 1989.*

A family of Quebec farmers. According to a survey of Quebec households carried out in 1986, women do three times more housework than men: an average of 36.6 hours per week as opposed to 11.2 hours.

The role of mothers in family change

More than ever before, women are playing a critical role in the evolution of Quebec society. The family is no longer the only setting in which they can achieve personal and social fulfilment. Their position strengthened by the advances made by the women's movement in promoting the equality of the sexes, the right to abortion and to the use of contraceptives, and the right to autonomy and self-fulfilment outside the family and marriage, they are no longer obliged to choose in such a limited and uncompromising manner as before between "being" a wife, "being" a mother and "having" a profession.

One woman in two of working age is now in the market for gainful employment and the percentage of women with children under sixteen who are part of the working population has risen from under 40 per cent at the beginning of the 1970s to about 60 per cent today.

Care of children after their birth raises questions of planning and organization and leads to discussion and hard bargaining among couples, especially when each partner has career ambitions. Who will be prepared to forego his or her professional activities, either wholly or in part, to take on this other unpaid, singlehanded, unremarked task? Which of them will agree to give only secondary consideration to job security, promotion prospects and participation in society in order to devote himself or herself to the service of the child and the family?

In a society in which the objectives of a loving relationship, the family and professional life are no longer necessarily compatible, the declining acceptance of the model of the full-time mother and housewife is leading to a re-alignment of roles and functions within the couple and the family.

The delicate task of sharing responsibilities

Apart from the two parents' normal, permanent participation in family life, it is difficult to speak of any real sharing out of tasks or any real redefinition of models and roles. It is still the woman who feeds, washes, dresses, nurses, supervises, listens, advises and consoles. At best, fathers only make a supplementary contribution, specializing mainly in social activities such as playing, educating and punishing. The paternal contribution remains part-time, ad hoc and intermittent, whereas the mother's is permanent, unchanging and continuous.

A survey of 1,332 Quebec households carried out in April 1986 revealed that women do three times more housework than men, on which they spend an average of 36.6 hours per week as opposed to 11.2 hours for men. These statistics show an increase in the contribution made by men, but according to those who carried out the survey, each hour of work in the home carried out by men adds a quarter of an hour to that done by their womenfolk. The women of Quebec are still fighting to get men to take a more equitable share in domestic tasks and family responsibilities.

The fathers' response

For some years now, certain groups of men have been demanding an extension of the paternal sphere of action, thus expressing a desire to play a larger part in their children's lives. They are demanding the right to be more fully involved in their children's arrival into the world, in their introduction to society and in their education. They are critical of the old parental stereotypes and want to establish new parent/child relationships based on collaboration and generosity.

Playing down their role as "providers", they want to accentuate the psychological and affective aspects of their relationships. Only a minority of men, however, favour this redefinition of the father's role, which does not necessarily include an explicit desire to take a share in housework. Nevertheless, it forms part of a movement towards the sharing of parental rights, privileges and duties upon which the survival of the Quebec family ultimately depends.

In Quebec over the past twenty years, as elsewhere in North America, the death of the traditional family has more than once been announced. The media increasingly extoll the two-parent, two-salary family as the height of social success, whether bound together by marriage or not, in which more flexible hierarchical relationships between its members replace, at least outwardly, the traditional order based on patriarchal authority and the submission of wife and children. In this egalitarian-type family, the husband would, ideally, share in the parental responsibilities, duties and privileges, participating more

FRANCINE DESCARRIES, of Canada, is a professor of sociology at the University of Quebec, Montreal, where she is head of the Feminist Research Centre. Among her recent publications are *L'école rose et les cols roses* ("Pink School, Pink Collars") and, with Shirley Roy, an essay on currents of thought in the women's movement.

CHRISTINE CORBEIL, of Canada, is a professor of social work at the University of Quebec, Montreal. She is engaged on research with Francine Descarries, with whom she has published a study on maternity and the women's movement in the *Revue Internationale d'Action Communautaire* (1987).

actively than formerly both in household tasks and in the upbringing of the two children who are seen as the couple's joint project.

The revival of the family

Thus, transcending structural change, the traditional family continues to be seen as the setting above all others in which the affectivity of the individual, whether child or adult, can be given expression. Similarly, the great majority of Quebec women still share the desire to have children. In a recent survey, 93 per cent of women between the ages of eighteen and forty-nine said that they wanted to have at least one child.

This emotional attachment to the family unit and to children, coupled with the emergence of new family structures based on new ways of managing conjugal and parental relationships, reflects a renewed appreciation of privacy and of the home as the place of understanding, loving relationships and comfort that is to be found today throughout North American society. In short, while free unions, reconstituted families, divorce, a drop in the birth rate and gainful employment for women provide the backdrop to the family scene in Quebec today, paradoxically, the family and its values are more than ever perceived and sought after as a shield against the cold loneliness and violence of the outside world.

A competitor in a snow sculpture contest held during the Quebec city carnival puts the finishing touches to a carving of a family on a sledge.

After the final break with the traditional patriarchal family with its rigid, inegalitarian structure, we must now look towards the family of the year 2000. We must abolish sex-based division of labour both in the public and in the domestic arena, revitalize social services concerned with marriage partnerships and family support, and encourage the state and the various agents of society to find new solutions to the problems facing women and their families. It is only on this basis that we can resolve what some have described as "the major crisis facing the family in Quebec", but which we prefer to see as the crisis of a model of family relationships which today is outmoded. ■

A visit to an

'OUR HOME IS YOUR HOME'

A French journalist specializing in family questions describes a recent visit to Soviet Uzbekistan.

MY husband and I stayed in an Uzbek household comprising a couple, both university teachers, whose second daughter lived with them. Their elder daughter was already married. Despite its European characteristics, this family of intellectuals is firmly attached to a traditional way of life that reveals the vigour of an ancient culture and religion.

Like all visitors, we had to leave our shoes in the hallway. The apartment was a blend of east and west. Modern furniture was set among an array of rugs and cushions.

Uzbek hospitality is legendary. Throughout our stay, we were showered with kindness and copiously fed. "Our home is your home," the mistress of the house said time and again, her hand on her heart as a sign of respect.

We were offered a wide range of national dishes, including the celebrated *plov,* a rice and mutton dish traditionally eaten with the fingers from a vast earthenware platter (see *Unesco Courier,* December 1984). We were never given pork, which is prohibited among Muslims.

Most of the time it was the daughter of the house, Rano ("Rose-Red"), who served the meals, without sitting down herself. She followed a particularly graceful ritual when serving the green tea, slowly pouring a little of the hot liquid into red and gold porcelain goblets which she offered to us, held in the tips of her fingers without touching the rim, palm upwards.

Her mother, Ferouza ("Turquoise"), confided to me how important it was that her daughter should have good manners and be a skilled housekeeper, for these are the qualities which will be most appreciated by her future in-laws.

Rano was twenty years old. Matchmakers had already been calling on her parents for two years, but the latter were in no great hurry to give her hand in marriage, partly because they wanted her to finish her economics studies at university, and partly because weddings are very expensive and it was not long since Rano's elder sister had been married. "With us," they explained, "it is usual to have a large number of guests at the wedding—one or two hundred, sometimes even three hundred, and the celebrations go on for at least three days. People often run up huge debts."

The bride's dowry also had to be constituted. Rano's parents, who enjoy a comfortable standard of living, must provide the furnishings for two rooms: all the carpeting, bedding and crockery for a bedroom and a dining room. Their daughter's trousseau would include around forty outfits and a dozen pairs of shoes. Ferouza was extremely concerned about this. "We can't do less for the younger one than we did for her sister," she said with a sigh, "otherwise we shall be criticized."

Custom dictates that a young couple should go to live with the husband's family. The in-laws must therefore provide their son with two rooms, even if this entails moving house.

Lengthy preparations are made before an Uzbek marriage is celebrated. In Tashkent, the capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, marriages are normally contracted only between natives of the city. "There's no chance," explained Ferouza, "of a city girl marrying a provincial, and a Muslim girl wouldn't usually marry a non-Muslim."

When a young man has reached marriageable age, his mother looks for a wife for him. Generally accompanied by one of her female relatives, she pays an initial visit to the family of a suitable girl. The two women note the conditions in which the potential in-laws live and ask about future prospects. If this preliminary meeting is considered satisfactory, the women will come back again and the two families will get to know one another better. Each side does some detective work. If the two families eventually reach agreement, an informal rendezvous is arranged between the two mothers, accompanied by the young people. The meeting occurs as if by chance—when leaving work, for example.

Marriage of an Uzbek couple at the madrasah of Shirdar, Samarkand.

"I don't want to marry Rano off against her will," Ferouza explained. "Nadir, my husband, had to resort to trickery in order to marry me. After turning down several girls which his mother had picked out for him, he finally pretended to give in to her reluctantly when she suggested my name. In fact he had already chosen me. But she was convinced that she had chosen her son's wife herself."

Ferouza abides by family traditions but finds them onerous. "There are a lot of family reunions and festivities," she said, "and I always have to serve a dish that I've made myself, which means that I have to stay up late to prepare my lectures. On top of the preparations for Rano's wedding, I also have to prepare for my grandsons' circumcision feast, which is coming up soon. New clothes will have to be bought for them and there'll be lots of guests—it will be very expensive. After Rano is married, there will be more children, more family festivities and more expense. I'm a bit tired of it," she admitted.

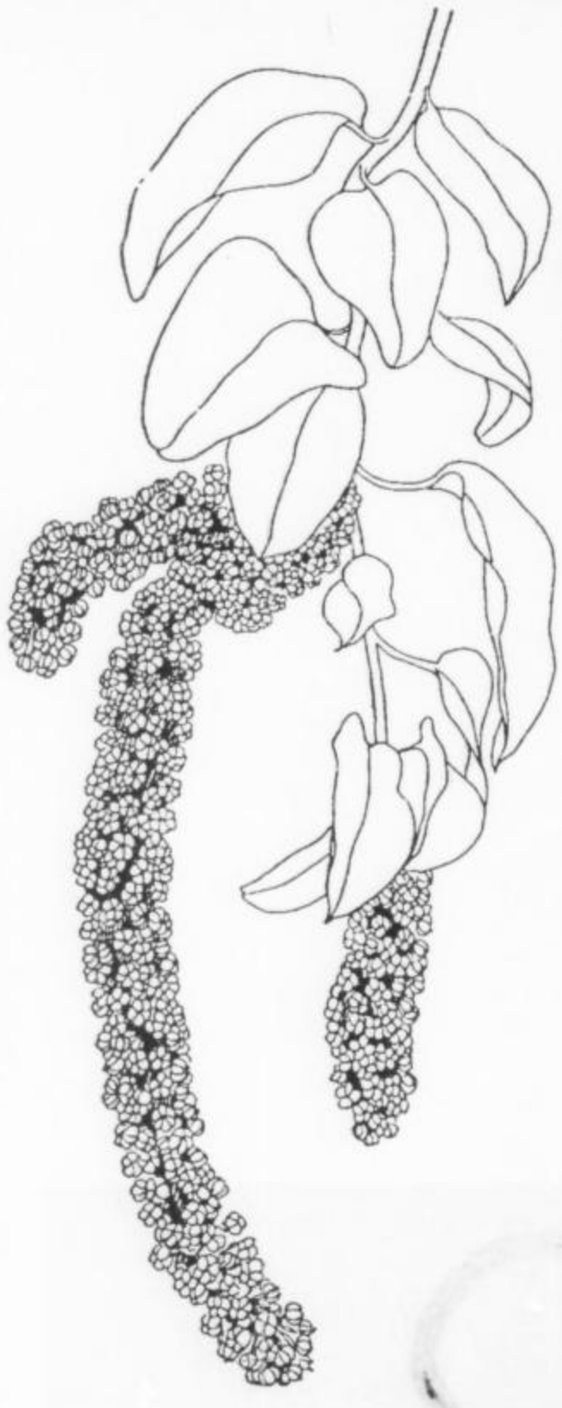
Her husband seemed more relaxed. A high-spirited man, he organized entertainment for us. It will be a long time before I forget a trip we made into the countryside, with the beautiful mountain scenery, the warm welcome we received everywhere, the eastern-style dances, open-air barbecues and traditional pastries. All Nadir's relatives would have been asked to contribute. "We'll do anything he asks of us," said his brother-in-law Farkhad, who is slightly younger than Nadir. "He's the head of the family because he's the oldest." Much respect is shown to the elders. To put elderly relatives in an old people's home would be unthinkable. They are looked after, we were told, by the family.

Respect for older people and the extent of Uzbek hospitality were the things that most impressed us during our stay. After wishing us a safe journey home, Ferouza, Nadir and Rano, hands on their hearts, said: "Come back. Our home will always be yours..." ■

Uzbek family

BY CLAIRE FOURNIER

Africa's 'wonder weed'



Abridged from ATAS News, a publication prepared by the Centre for Science and Technology for Development of the United Nations Secretariat.

MILLIONS of people in the developing world may be spared the debilitating and sometimes fatal effects of schistosomiasis, a parasitic infection also known as bilharzia, if the results of a discovery made by an Ethiopian scientist twenty-five years ago are fully exploited.

It was in 1964 that a young Ethiopian parasitologist, Aklilu Lemma, discovered that the berries of a bush commonly found in areas of Ethiopia where schistosomiasis is endemic were a safe and effective molluscicide against snails which carry the bilharzia parasite.

Sent to Adwa in northern Ethiopia after a recent outbreak of bilharzia, Dr. Lemma discovered that life for the people of Adwa revolved around the Guagua and Asem rivers. He began to examine the snail population along the banks of the rivers. It was known that the snails were hosts to the parasite, and the objective was to find a way of interrupting the breeding cycle during their earliest development.

"Over a period of time," says Dr. Lemma, "I began to notice a pattern of dead snails in the areas downstream from where the women washed their clothes. I saw this repeatedly and wondered if there was some connection."

Dr. Lemma decided to gather some live snails in a small bucket and take them to where the women were washing. "I asked a woman to put a little of her suds in the bucket, and when she did, the snails fizzed and died, shrinking in their shells."

The suds which killed the snails were produced by berries from the wild endod plant (*Phytolacca dodecandra*), which had been known to Ethiopian women for centuries as the "soapberry bush". The women had collected the unripened berries and dried them in the sun. On washing days they would grind a handful of berries in a basin, and mix in a little water to produce a foaming lather. This traditional detergent was credited with the stark whiteness and softness of their dresses.

The young scientist reaffirmed the effects of the suds on snails in the laboratory, and in doing so began a struggle for scientific recognition of the plant and its low-cost molluscicidal properties which continues today.

Dr. Lemma's discovery led to a five-year survey which measured the incidence of bilharzia in each household in Adwa before and after the introduction of scientifically measured berry extract to the rivers.

"Before the introduction of endod we found that about 50 per cent of the children between the ages of one and five years were infected by bilharzia," says Dr. Lemma. "Five years later that figure had been reduced to about 8 per cent."

Further research showed that the natural berry product was biodegradable, breaking down into inert organic materials similar to food spices within 48 hours.

The cost of producing an endod berry extract—$10 to $25 per person per year in infested areas—is a key factor in the endod equation. One of the most effective commercial molluscicides on the market is Bayluscide, which also kills the snail host, but which has remained prohibitively expensive (about $25,000 a ton) to poor communities which need it most.

A discovery of such potential in a western country would have excited major financial support, but with a few notable exceptions in the US, Canada and Europe, endod has not generated much enthusiasm.

"It has been very difficult to overcome the biases," says Dr. Lemma. "One of the problems is that it's too simple, too cheap. There are already chemicals in the marketplace and people don't want to invest in something which is unlikely to make a lot of money. We have been unable to attract the kind of resources necessary to develop a product quickly which has all the seals of approval."

The constraints appear to be easing, however. A high-yielding endod plant has been developed which is resistant to insect pests, has high potency berries, and grows to a size suitable for large-scale cultivation. Scientists who have worked on the development of the new "Type 44" plant believe it has considerable economic potential for farmers in poor highland areas of the developing world where it could be intercropped with maize and potato and sold to the lowland communities where bilharzia is endemic. Cultivars of "Type 44" have been transplanted internationally and are doing well in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland and Brazil.

The main obstacle to this low-cost approach to schistosomiasis control is the passage of endod through various international scientific protocols which would

endorse it as a safe product, and give the green light to greater financial support from the international community.

Professor John D.H. Lambert of the Department of Biology at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, is confident that endod will ultimately pass muster : "What one has to realize with this product," he says, "is that it has been safely used by people in Ethiopia for centuries. We are dealing with a product which people have used to wash themselves and their clothing, and if there is a problem it should have manifested itself in some way by now. The whole idea now is to extract the product from the berries on a large scale using the same low-cost water extraction they use for traditional soap making."

An endod Scientific Advisory Group formed by the International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC) has met under the chairmanship of the World Health Organization's Pesticides Section and laid down procedures for repeating some of the laboratory work done in Ethiopia in the 1960s and early 1970s. The IDRC will be covering much old ground, but the outcome will be recommendations from internationally recognized laboratories under "Good Laboratory Practices" (GLP) standards. The Group has also identified the necessary toxological tests to be done in tandem with agronomic studies, prior to large-scale field evaluations in a number of countries, including Ethiopia, Zambia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

The final irony emerging from the endod story is that the industrialized nations which ignored it for so long may ultimately be among the principal beneficiaries. Dr. Robert M. Parkhurst, senior organic chemist at Stanford Research Institute in California, says that most of the chemistry to identify the active principles in the endod berry has been done at Stanford, and that the berry is just the tip of the iceberg as far as the plant is concerned.

Parkhurst has labelled endod the "wonder weed of Africa". "Every time we examine this plant we find a new potential for it," he says. In addition to the key molluscicidal saponins, which Stanford has named "Lemmatoxins" after the discoverer, the Institute has identified a score of other commercial possibilities ranging from liver fluke control for livestock and larvocides against malarial mosquitoes, to the development of natural skin cosmetics. ■

IN BRIEF

Young flat-earthers

Most under-10-year-olds assume the Earth is flat, according to a survey carried out for the U.S. National Science Teachers Association. The survey, carried out in 65 schools in the U.S. and Israel, showed that most children are taught that the Earth is round when they are about 10 years old, and until then they rely on their own perceptions.

Cancer drug triggered by light

The use of a light-activated drug known to the ancient Egyptians has been proposed for the treatment of certain cancers. Dr. Richard L. Edelson, writing in *Scientific American,* describes how cancerous cells removed from a patient's body are damaged by the drug, known as 8-MOP, which is activated by ultraviolet radiation. When the cells are returned to the body, they trigger off an immunological attack on the remaining cancerous cells.

Nuclear electricity shows increase

Installed capacity for generating electricity with nuclear power increased by about 8% worldwide in 1987, reports the International Atomic Energy Agency. During the year 22 new reactors came on line in 9 countries. This brought the world's total to 417 operating nuclear power plants, accounting for more than 16% of the world's total electrical power generation.

Prehistoric foundling

Researchers A. Tikhonov (below left) and V. Simonov of Leningrad's Zoology Institute measure the body of a baby mammoth found by the crew of the Soviet ship *Porog* in the soil of the Arctic's Yamal peninsula. The ancient animal's frozen carcass, which has survived largely intact, aroused interest in many sciences. Microbiologists in particular are trying to detect microbes and viruses which may have been conserved in the extreme cold.

Cool cats

Scientists have drawn on principles of physics, anatomy and evolution to explain why cats survive falls that would kill people. Of 132 cats treated in New York's animal medical centre for injuries compatible with falling from a great height, 90% survived. Because cats have a larger surface area in relation to volume than humans their maximum rate of descent is lower and impact stresses are much less. But why should cats suffer less severe injuries after a fall than dogs of the same size? According to Prof. Jared Diamond of the University of California, cats have inherited certain safety mechanisms from their tree-living ancestors. When a cat falls, its muscles relax so that its legs splay out horizontally. It descends parachute-fashion and lands on all fours, in a way that minimizes the impact on any one part of its body.

The UNESCO COURIER

42nd YEAR

Published monthly in 34 languages and in braille by Unesco, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

31, rue François Bonvin, 75015 Paris, France.

Director: Bahgat Elnadi
Editor-in-chief: Adel Rifaat

EDITORIAL STAFF (Paris)

Managing Editor: Gillian Whitcomb
English edition: Roy Malkin, Caroline Lawrence
French edition: Alain Lévêque, Neda El Khazen
Spanish edition: Miguel Labarca, Araceli Ortiz de Urbina
Arabic edition: Abdelrashid Elsadek Mahmoudi
Studies and research: Fernando Ainsa
Art Unit/Production: Georges Servat
Illustrations: Ariane Bailey (Tel.: 45.68.46.90)
Documentation: Violette Ringelstein (Tel.: 45.68.46.85)
Liaison with non-Headquarters editions: Solange Belin
Secretariat: Annie Brachet (Tel.: 45.68.47.15), Mouna Chatta, Majda Dalal
Public relations: Claudie Duhamel (Tel.:45.68.45.86)
Selection in braille in English, French, Spanish and Korean: Marie-Dominique Bourgeais

NON-HEADQUARTERS EDITIONS

Russian: Georgi Zelenin (Moscow)
German: Werner Merkli (Berne)
Italian: Mario Guidotti (Rome)
Hindi: Sri Ram (Delhi)
Tamil: M. Mohammed Mustafa (Madras)
Persian: H. Sadough Vanini (Teheran)
Dutch: Paul Morren (Antwerp)
Portuguese: Benedicto Silva (Rio de Janeiro)
Turkish: Mefra Ilgazer (Istanbul)
Urdu: Hakim Mohammed Saïd (Karachi)
Catalan: Joan Carreras i Marti (Barcelona)
Malaysian: Abdul Manaf Saad (Kuala Lumpur)
Korean: Paik Syeung Gil (Seoul)
Swahili: Domino Rutayebesibwa (Dar-es-Salaam)
Croato-Serb, Macedonian, Serbo-Croat, Slovene: Bozidar Perković (Belgrade)
Chinese: Shen Guofen (Beijing)
Bulgarian: Goran Gotev (Sofia)
Greek: Nicolas Papageorgiou (Athens)
Sinhala: S.J. Sumanasekera Banda (Colombo)
Finnish: Marjatta Oksanen (Helsinki)
Swedish: Manni Kössler (Stockholm)
Basque: Gurutz Larrañaga (San Sebastian)
Thai: Savitri Suwansathit (Bangkok)
Vietnamese: Dao Tung (Hanoi)
Pashto: Nasir Seham (Kabul)
Hausa: Habib Alhassan (Sokoto)
Bengali: Ahmed Hedayet (Dhaka)

SALES AND PROMOTION

Manager: Henry Knobil (45.68.45.88), **Assistant:** Marie-Noëlle Branet (45.68.45.89), **Subscriptions:** Marie-Thérèse Hardy (45.68.45.65), Jocelyne Despouy, Jacqueline Louise-Julie, Manichan Ngonekeo, Michel Ravassard, Mohamed Salah El Din,
Customer service: Ginette Motreff (45.68.45.64),
Accounts: Liliane Tasch (45.68.45.66), **Cultural projects:** Ricardo Zamora-Perez (Tel.: 45.68.45.80),
Shipping: Hector Garcia Sandoval

ADVERTISING

Publicat: 17, Boulevard Poissonnière, 75002 Paris. Tel.: 40.26.51.26
Sales director: Benoît Rosier
Advertising director: Danièle Michelet

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Tel.: 45.68.45.65
1 year: 126 French francs. 2 years: 234 FF.
Developing countries
1 year: 99 French francs. 2 years: 180 FF.
Payment can be made with any convertible currency to the order of Unesco

Individual articles and photographs not copyrighted may be reprinted providing the credit line reads "Reprinted from the *Unesco Courier*", plus date of issue, and three voucher copies are sent to the editor. Signed articles reprinted must bear author's name. Non-copyright photos will be supplied on request. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by an international reply coupon covering postage. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions of Unesco or those of the editors of the *Unesco Courier*. Photo captions and headlines are written by the *Unesco Courier* staff. The boundaries on maps published in the magazine do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by Unesco or the United Nations. The *Unesco Courier* is produced in microform (microfilm and/or microfiche) by: (1) Unesco, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris; (2) University Microfilms (Xerox), Ann Arbor, Michigan 48100, U.S.A.; (3) N.C.R. Microcard Edition, Indian Head, Inc., 111 West 40th Street, New York, U.S.A.; (4) Bell and Howell Co., Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691, U.S.A.

IMPRIMÉ EN FRANCE (Printed in France) - DEPOT LEGAL : C1 - JUILLET 1989
Photocomposition: The *Unesco Courier*
Photogravure-impression:
Maury Imprimeur S.A., Z.I. route d'Etampes, 45330 Malesherbes.

ISSN 0041-5278 Nº 7 - 1989 - OPI - 89 - 1 - 470 A

Where to renew your subscription

and place your order for other Unesco publications

Order from any bookseller or write direct to the National Distributor in your country. (See list below; names of distributors in countries not listed, along with subscription rates in local currency, will be supplied on request.)

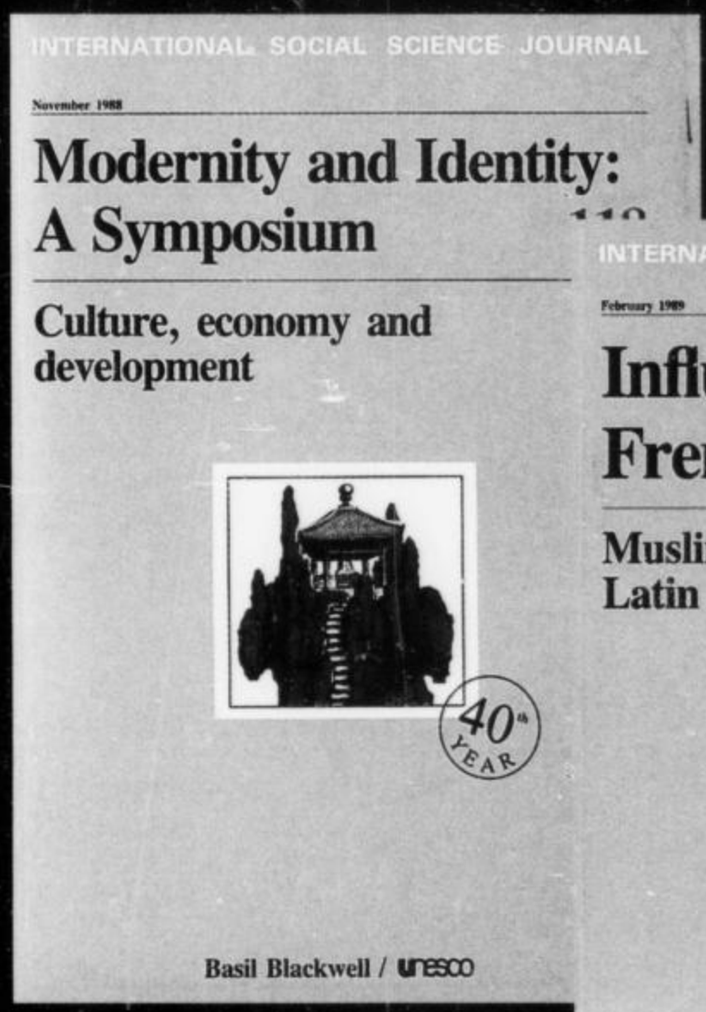
ALBANIA. 'Ndermarrja e perpjes se librit', Tirana. **ARGENTINA.** Libreria el Correo de la Unesco - EDILYR, SRL, Tucumán 1685, 1050 Buenos Aires. **AUSTRALIA.** *Books only:* Educational Supplies Pty. Ltd., P.O. Box 33, Brookvale 2100, NSW; *Periodicals:* Dominie Pty. Subscriptions Dept., P.O. Box 33, Brookvale 2100, NSW. *Sub-agents:* United Nations Association of Australia, Victorian Division, 328 Flinders Street, Melbourne 3000.Hunter Publications, 58a Gipps St., Collingwood, Victoria 3066. **AUSTRIA. Gerold and Co., Graben 31, A-1011, Vienna. BAHRAIN.** United Schools International, Arab Regional Office, P.O. Box 726, Bahrain; The Arabian Agencies and Distributing Co., Al Mutanabi St., PO Box 156, Manama. **BANGLADESH** Karim International, GPO Box No; 2141, 64 / 1 Manipuri Para, Tejgaon, Farmgate, Dhaka. **BARBADOS.** University of the West Indies Bookshop, Cave Hill Campus, P.O. Box 64, Bridgetown. **BELGIUM.** Jean de Lannoy, 202 Ave. du Roi, 1060 Brussels. **BOTSWANA.** Botswana Book Centre, PO Box 91 Gaborone. **BRAZIL.** Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Serviço del Publicaçoes, caixa postal 9.042-ZC-05 Praia de Botafogo 188, Rio de Janeiro (RJ) 2000; *Books only:* Imagem Latinoamericana, Av. Paulista 750, I andar, caixa postal 30455, Sao Paulo CEP 01051. **BULGARIA.** Hemus, Kantora Literatura, boulevard Rousky 6, Sofia. **BURMA.** Trade Corporation no. (9), 550-552 Merchant Street, Rangoon. **CANADA.** Renouf Publishing Co. Ltd., 1294 Algoma Road, Ottawa, Ontario K1B 3W8. (*Stores:* 61 Sparks Street, Ottawa, 211 Yonge St., Toronto. *Sales office:* 7575 Trans Canada Hwy. Ste. 305, St. Laurent, Quebec H4T 1V6. **CAMEROON.** Cameroon Book Centre, PO Box 123, Limbe, Commission Nationale, BP 1600, Yaounde. **CHILE.** Editorial Universitaria S.A., Departamento de Importaciones, M. Luisa Santander 0447, casilla 10220, Santiago; Editorial 'Andrés Bello', Av; R. Lyon 946, Casilio 4256, Santiago de Chile; Dipublic, Antonio Varas 671, 2º piso, casilla 14364, Correo 21, Santiago. **CHINA.** China National Publications Import and Export Corporation, P.O. Box 88, Beijing. **COLOMBIA.** Instituto Colombiano de Cultura (Colcultura), Carrera 3A, nº 18 / 24, Bogota; *Books only:* Libreria Buchholz Galeria, Calle 59, No; 13-13, Bogota. **CYPRUS.** 'MAM', Archbishop Makarios 3rd Avene, PO Box 1722, Nicosia. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA.** S.N.T.L., Spalena 51-113 02, Prague 1; *For Slovakia only:* Alfa Verlag.-Publishers, Hurbanovo nam. 6,893 31 Bratislava; PNS-UED, Jindrisska 14, praha 1; Slovart, Gottwaldovo Nam 6, 805 32 Bratislavia. **DEM. REP. OF YEMEN.** 14th October Corporation, PO Box 4227, Aden. **DENMARK.** Munksgaard Export-OG. Tidsskriftservice, 35 Norre Sogade, DK-1970 Kobenhavn K. **DOMINICAN REPUBLIC** Libreria Blasco, Avenida Bolivar, No; 402, esq Hermanos Deligne, Santo Domingo. **EGYPT (ARAB REPUBLIC OF).** Unesco Publications Centre, No 1 Talaat Harb St., Cairo. **ETHIOPIA.** Ethiopian National Agency for Unesco, PO Box 2996, Addis Ababa. **FINLAND.** Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, P. O. Box 128, SF-00100 Helsinki. Suomalainen Kirjakauppa Oy, Koivuvaarankuja 2 01640 Vantaa 64. **FRANCE.** Librairie de l'Unesco, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris. *Periodicals only:* Unesco CPD / V-1, rue Miollis, 75015 Paris. **GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.** Buchexport, Postfach 140, Leninstrasse 16, 7010, Leipzig. **FED. REP. OF GERMANY.** For the Unesco Courier: Mr. H. Baum, Deutscher Unesco-Kurier Vertrieb, Basaltstrasse 57, D5300 Bonn 3; UNO-Verlag, Simrockstrasse 23, D-5300 Bonn 1; S. Karger GmbH, Verlag Angerhofstrasse 9, Postfach 2 D-8034 Germering / München. *For scientific maps only:* Geo Center, Postfach 800830, 7000 Stuttgart 80. **GHANA.** *Books only:* Presbyterian Bookshop Depot Ltd., PO Box 195, Accra; Ghana Book Suppliers Ltd., PO 7869, Accra; The University Bookshop of Ghana, Accra; The University Bookshop of Cape Coast; The University Bookshop of Legon, PO Box 1, Legon. *Periodicals only:* Fides Entreprises, P.O. Box 14129, Accra. **GREAT BRITAIN.** See United Kingdom. **GREECE.** Eleftheroudakis SA, International Bookstore, 4 Nikis Street, Athens; John Mihalopoulos & Son SA, International Booksellers, P.O. Box 10073, 541 10 Thessaloniki. Greek National Commission for unesco, 3 Akadimias Street, Athens. **HONG KONG.** Swindon Book Co., 13-15 Lock Road, Kowloon; Federal Publications (HK) Ltd., Tokwawan, Kowloon; Hong Kong Government Information Services, Publication Section, Hong Kong; *Periodicals only:* Beaconsfield House 6th floor, Queen's Road Central, Victoria. **HUNGARY.** Kultura-Bushimport-ABT, P.O.B. 149-H-1389, Budapest 62. **ICELAND.** Snaebjörn Jonsson and Co., H.F. Hafnarstraeti 9, Reykjavik. **INDIA.** Orient Longman Ltd., Kamani Marg, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038; 17 Chitaranjan Ave., Calcutta 13; 36a, Anna Salai, Mount Road, Madras 2; 5-9-41/1 Bashir Bagh, Hyderabad 500001 (AP); 80/1 Mahatma Gandhi Rd., Bangalore 560001; 3-5-820 Hyderguda, Hyderabad-500001. *Sub-agents:* Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17 Park St., Calcutta 70016; Scindia House, New Delhi 11 0001. **INDONESIA.** Bhratara Publishers and Booksellers, 29, J1. Oto Iskandardinata 111, Jakarta; Indira P.T., Jl Dr. Sam Ratulangie 37, Jakarta Pusat. **IRAN.** Iranian National Commission for Unesco, 1188 Englab Ave., Rostam Give Building, P.O. Box 11365-4498, Teheran 13158. **IRELAND.** *Periodicals only:* The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd., PO Box 43A, Walkinstown, Dublin 12; *Books only:* TDC Publishers, 11 North Frederick Street, Dublin 7. **ISRAEL.** Literary Transactions, Inc., c/o Steimatzky Ltd., P.O. Box 628, Tel Aviv; A.B.C. Bookstore Ltd., P.O. Box 1283, 71 Allenby Rd., Tel Aviv 61000. **ITALY.** Licosa (Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni, S.p.A.), Via Lamarmora 45, Casella Postale 552, 50121 Florence; via Bartolini 29, 20155 Milan; FAO Bookshop, via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome. **JAMAICA.** University of the West Indies Bookshop, Mona, Kingston 7. **JAPAN.** Eastern Book Service Inc., 37-3 Hongo 3-chome Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113. **JORDAN** Jordan Distribution Agency, PO Box 375, Amman. *Periodicals only:* Jordan Book Centre Co. Ltd., PO Box 301, Al Jubeiha, Amman. **KENYA.** East African Publishing House, PO 30571, Nairobi; Africa Book Services Ltd, Quran House, Mangano Street, PO Box 45245, Nairobi. **KOREA.** Korean National Commission for Unesco, P.O. Box Central 64, Seoul. **KUWAIT.** The Kuwait Bookshop Co., Ltd, POB 2942, Kuwait; *Periodicals only:* Farafalia Press Agency, P.O. Box SAFA 4541, Kuwait. **LEBANON.** Librairie Antoine A. Naufal et Frères, BP 656, Beirut. **LESOTHO** Mazenod Book Centre, PO Mazenod, Maseru. **LIBERIA** National Bookstore, Mechlin and Carey Streets, PO Box 590, Monrovia; Cole and Yancy Bookshops Ltd., PO Box 286, Monrovia.- **LUXEMBOURG.** *Books only:* Librairie Paul Bruck, 22, Grande-Rue, Luxembourg; *Periodical:* Messageries Paul Kraus, BP 1022, Luxembourg. **MALAWI** Malawi Book Service, Head Office, PO Box 30044, Chichiri, Blantyre 3. **MALAYSIA.** University of Malaya Co-operative Bookshop, Kuala Lumpur 22-11. **MALTA.** Sapienzas, 26 Republic St., Valletta. **MAURITANIA** GRA.LI.-CO.MA., 1 rue du Souk X, Avenue kennedy, Nouakchott. **MAURITIUS.** Nalanda Company Ltd., 30 Bourbon St., Port-Louis. **MEXICO.** Libreria El Correo de la Unesco, Actipán 66, Colonia del Valle, Apartado postal 61 164, 06600 Mexico DF. **MONACO.** British Library, 30 Bd. des Moulins, Monte Carlo. **MORROCCO.** Librairie 'Aux belles images', 282 ave. Mohammed-V, Rabat; Librairie des écoles, 12 ave. Hassan-II, Casaglanca; Société cherifienne de distribution et de presse, SOCHEPRESS, angle rues de Dinant et St. Saëns, BP 13683, Casablanca 05. **MOZAMBIQUE.** Instituto National do Livro e do Disco (INLD), avenida 24 de Julho, 1921 r / d 1º andar, Maputo. **NEPAL.** Sajha Prakashan Polchowk, Kathmandu. **NETHERLANDS.** *Books only:* Keesing, Boeken B.V., Hogehilweg 13, Postbus 1118, 1000 BC Amsterdam. *Periodicals:* Faxon Europe, P.O. Box 197, 1000 AD Amsterdam. **NETHERLANDS ANTILLES.** Van Dorp-Eddine N.V., PO Box 200, Willemstad, Curaçao, NA. **NEW ZEALAND.** Government Publishing, P.O. Box 14277-Kilbirnie, Wellington. **NIGERIA.** The University Bookshop of Ife; The University Bookshop of Ibadan, P.O. 286; The University Bookshop of Nsukka; The University Bookshop of Lagos; The Ahmadu Bello University Bookshop of Zaria. **NORWAY.** Johan Grundt Tanum, P.O.B. 1177 Sentrum - Oslo 1; Universitets Bokhandelen, Universitetssentret, Postboks 307 Blindern, Oslo 3; *Periodicals only:* Narvesen A/S, Litteraturt Jenesten, P.O.B. 6125 Etterstad, N 0602 Oslo 6. **PAKISTAN.** Mirza Book Agency, 65 Shahrah Quaid-i-azam, P.O. Box No. 729, Lahore 3; Unesco Publications Centre, Regional Office for Book Development in Asia and the Pacific, 39 Delhi Housing Society, P.O. Box 8950, Karachi 29. **PANAMA.** Distribuidora Cultura Internacional, Apartado 7571, Zona 5, Panama. **PHILIPPINES.** National Book Store Inc., 701 Rizal Avenue, Manila. **POLAND.** Orpan-Import, Palac Kultury I Nauki, Warsaw; Ars Polona-Ruch, Krakowskie Przedmiescie No.7. 00-068 Warsaw. **PORTUGAL.** Dias & Andrade Ltda. Livraria Portugal, rua do Carmo 70, Lisbon. **ROMANIA.** ARTEXIM Export-Import, Piata Scientii, no. 1, PO Box 33-16, 70005 Bucharest. **SAUDI ARABIA.** Dar al Watan, Olaya Main Street, Ibrahim Bin Sulaym Building, Riyadh. **SEYCHELLES.** New Service Ltd., Kingsgate House, PO Box 131, Mahé; National Bookshop, PO Box 48, Mahé. **SIERRA LEONE.** Fourah Bay College, Njala University and Sierra leone Diocesan Bookshops, Freetown. **SINGAPORE.** Righteous Enterprises, P.O. Box 562, Kallang Basin Post Office, Singapore 9133. **SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA.** General Establishment for Publishing, Distribution and Advertising, Souf Al Mahmoudi St., PO Box 959, Tripoli. **SOMALIA.** Modern Book Shop and General, PO Box uâô, Mogadiscio. **SPAIN.** Mundi-Prensa Libros SA, apartado 1223, Castelló 37, Madrid 1; Ediciones Liber, apartado 17, Magdalena 8, Ondárroa (Vizcaya); Donaire, Ronda de Outeiro, 20, apartado de correos 341, La Coruña; *books only:* Libreria Castells, Ronda Universidad 13 y 15, Barcelona 7; Libreria de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Palan Moja, Rambla de los Estudios 118, 08 002 Barcelona. **SRI LANKA.** Lake House Bookshop, 100 Sir Chittampalam Gardiner Mawata, P.O.B. 244, Colombo 2. **SUDAN.** Al Bashir Bookshop, P.O. Box 1118, Khartoum. **SURINAME.** Suriname National Commission for Unesco, P.O. Box 2943, Paramaribo. **SWEDEN.** A / B C.E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel, Regeringsgatan 12, Box 16356, S-103 27 Stockholm 16; *For the Unesco Courier:* Svenska FN Förbundet, Skolgrand 2, Box 150 50 S-104, 65 Stockholm; *For periodicals only:* Wennergren-Williams AB, Nordenflychtsvagen 70, S-104, 25 Stockholm; Esselte Tidskriftscentralen, Gamla Brogatan 26, Box 62 -101, 20 Stockholm. **SWITZERLAND.** Europa Verlag, 5 Ramistrasse, Zurich; Librairies Payot in Geneva Lausanne, Basle, Berne, Vevey, Montreux, Neuchâtel and Zürich. **SYRIA.** Aleppo University Books Establishment, University of Aleppo, Aleppo. **TANZANIA.** Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop, P.O.B. 9030, Dar-es-Salaam. **THAILAND.** Nibondh and Co. Ltd., 40-42 Charoen Krung Road, Siyaeg Phaya Sri, P.O. Box 402, Bangkok; Suksapan Panit, Mansion 9, Rajdamnern Ave., Bangkok; Suksit Siam Company, 1715 Rama IV Road, Bangkok; ROEAP, PO Box 1425, Bangkok 10500. **TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.** National Commission for Unesco, 18 Alexandra St., St. Clair, Port-of-Spain. **TURKEY.** Haset Kitapevi A.S., Istiklâl Caddesi, No 469, Posta Kutusu 219, Beyoglu, Istanbul. **UGANDA.** Uganda Bookshop, PO Box 7145, Kampala. **UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.** Maktabat al Maktaba, PO Box 15408, Al Ain, Abu Dhabi. **UNITED KINGDOM.** H.M. Stationery Office, PO Box 276, London, SW8 5DT; H.M.S.O. Bookshops in London, Edinburgh, Belfast, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol; Third World Publications, 151 Stratford Road, Birmingham B11 1RD; *for scientific maps only:* McCarta Ltd., 122 King's Cross Rd. London WC1X 9DS. **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.** Bernan-UNIPUB, Periodicals Department, 4611-F Assembly Drive, Lanham, MD 20706 4391. **URUGUAY.** Ediciones Trecho, S.A., Maldonado 1092, Montevideo. **USSR.** V/O Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Ul. Dimitrova 39, Moskva 113095. **YUGOSLAVIA.** Mladost, Ilica 30/11, Zagreb; Cankarjeva Zalozba, Zopitarjeva 2, Ljubljana; Nolit, Terazije 13 / VIII, 11000 Belgrade; *periodicals only:* Jugosolvena Kniga, PO Box 36, YU 11001 Belgrade. **ZAMBIA.** National Educational Distribution Co. of Zambia Ltd., P.O. Box 2664, Lusaka. **ZIMBABWE.** Textbook Sales (PVT) Ltd., 1 Norwich Union Centre, Harare.

PHOTO CREDITS

Front cover, pages 3 (right), 35: © FDAC/Conseil Général du Val de Marne, France. **Back cover:** © Association Culturelle Confluences: Europe-Asie, Paris. **Page 2:** © Pestana/Herman Braun-Vega, Paris. **Page 3 (left):** Celik Erkul © Gamma, Paris. **Pages 5, 7:** Pelletier © Gamma, Paris. **Page 8:** © AIAP/Bibliothèque des Arts, Paris, from *Unesco: 40 Artists; 40 Years; 40 Countries.* **Pages 10, 13:** Anatole Zabolotski © Molodaya Gvardia publishers, Moscow. **Page 11:** © Marc Vaux, Paris. **Pages 14, 19 (above), 20, 30:** © Roger-Viollet, Paris. **Page 16:** Roland Michaud © Rapho, Paris. **Page 17:** © Jean-Loup Charmet, Bibiliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. **Pages 18-19, 38-39:** © Jean-Loup Charmet, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. **Page 21:** Bruce Dale © National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C. **Pages 22-23, 26:** © Orchidées/CIRIC, Paris. **Page 23:** © Michel Gurfinkel, Paris, Maurice Nicaud collection. **Pages 25, 27:** © Mark Edwards/Still Pictures, London. **Pages 28-29:** S. Franklin © Magnum, Paris. **Page 31 (above):** Bruno Barbey © Magnum, Paris; **(below):** E. Schwab © WHO, Geneva. **Page 32:** © Francisco Hidalgo, Paris. **Pages 36, 37:** © Léon Claude Vénézia, Revest des Brousses, France. **Page 38:** © Mazenod/Citadelle publishers, Paris. **Page 40 (above left):** Hector Cattolica/UNFPA; **(above right):** Sebastião Salgado © Magnum, Paris; **(below):** © M. Figueiredo. **Page 42:** © The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. **Page 43:** © The Tate Gallery, London. **Page 44:** Hervé Gloagen © Rapho, Paris. **Page 45:** Marc Pataut © Fotogram, Paris. **Page 47:** © APN, Paris. **Page 48 (below):** from *Histoire de la médecine dans l'Antiquité* © Hachette publishers, Paris. **Page 49 (above):** UN, New York; **(below):** © Novosti Press Agency, London.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

BASIL BLACKWELL/
UNESCO



International Social Science Journal is published four times a year, in February, May, August and November by Basil Blackwell Ltd, 108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF, UK, or PO Box 1320, Murray Hill Station, NY 10156, USA, for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

A quarterly interdisciplinary journal which reports on major current trends in the social sciences with contributions from specialists of international reputation

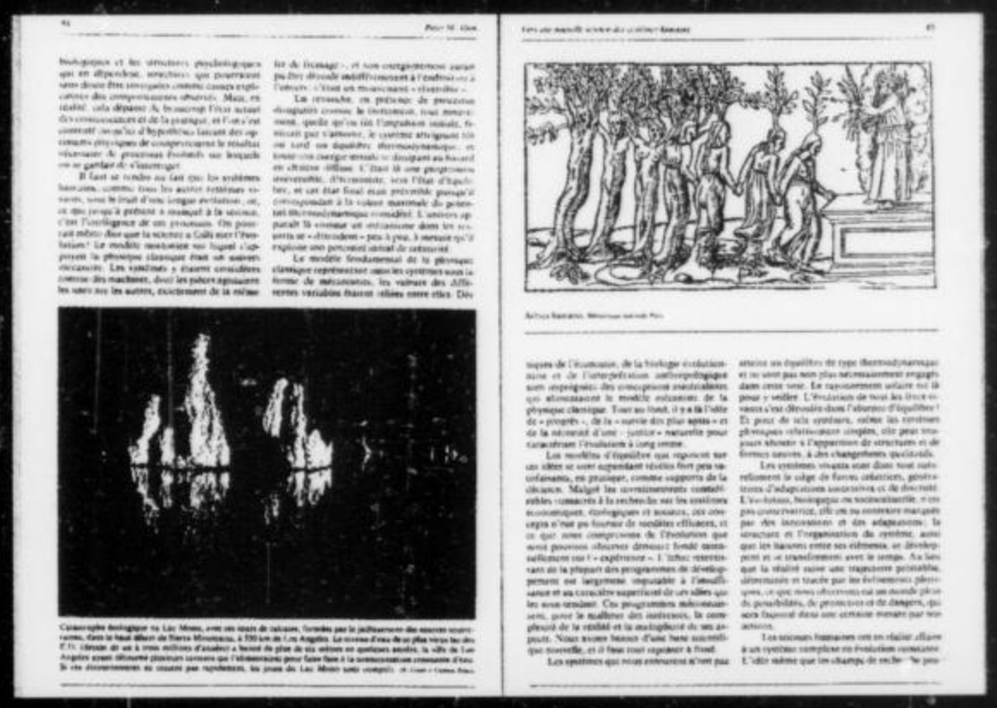
Recent articles include:

GEORGES BALANDIER:
An anthropology of violence and war

ALAIN TOURAINE:
Modernity and cultural specificities

IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN:
Should we unthink nineteenth-century social science?

PETER M. ALLEN:
Towards a new science of human systems

JEAN-TOUSSAINT DESANTI:
The role of science in culture

Attractive, fully-illustrated layout